

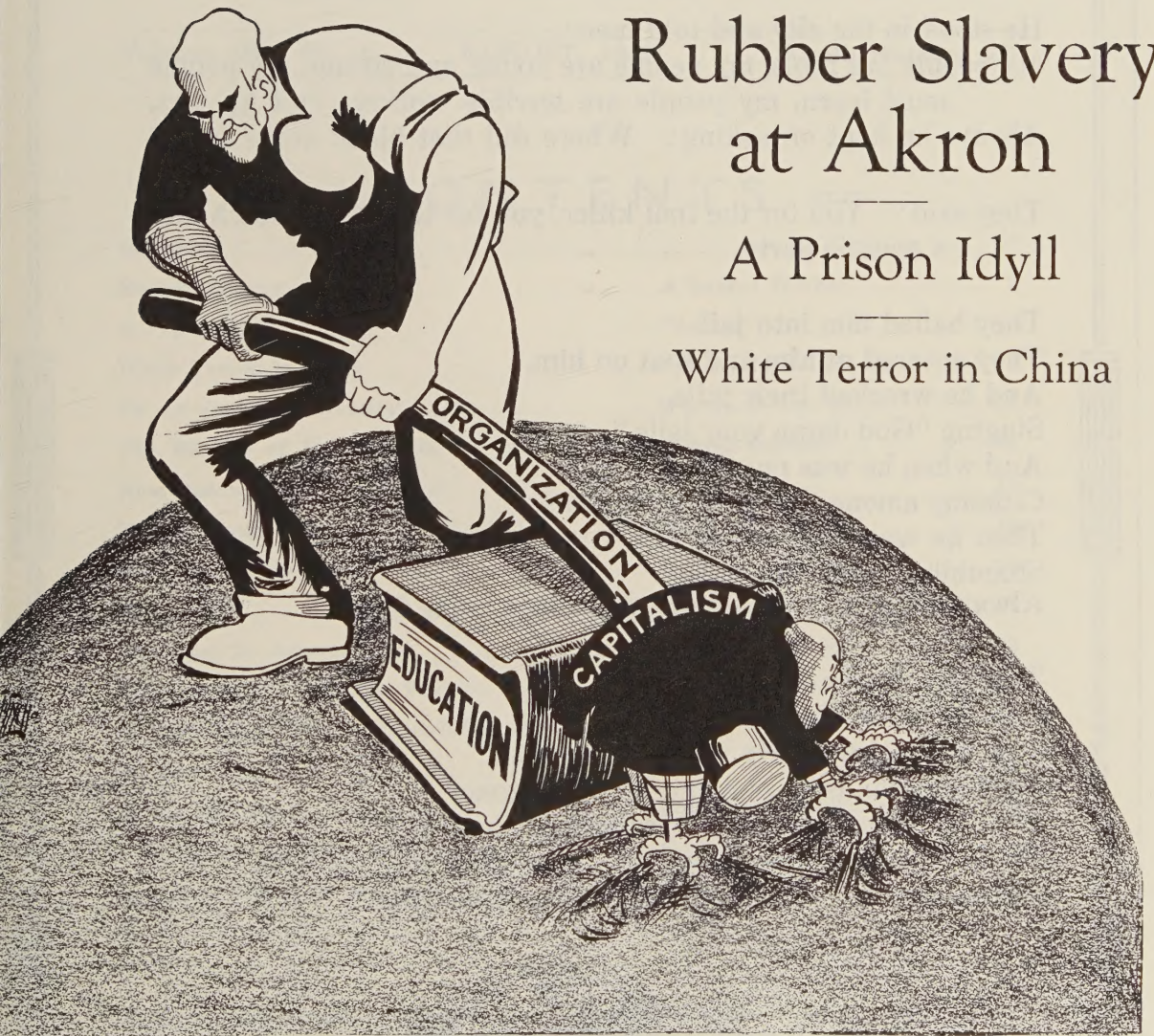
Industrial Pioneer

An Illustrated Labor Magazine

Rubber Slavery
at Akron

—
A Prison Idyll

—
White Terror in China



August, 1925

Price 20 cents

OSSAWATOMIE

By CARL SANDBURG

I don't know how he came,
Shambling, dark and strong.

He stood in the city and told men:
My people are fools, my people are young and strong, my people
must learn, my people are terrible workers and fighters.
Always he kept on asking: Where did that blood come from?

They said: You for the fool killer, you for the booby hatch and
a necktie party.

They hailed him into jail.
They sneered at him and spat on him,
And he wrecked their jails,
Singing "God damn your jails,"
And when he was most in jail,
Crummy among the crazy in the dark
Then he was most out of jail,
Shambling, dark and strong.
Always asking: Where did that blood come from?

They laid hands on him
And the fool killers had a laugh,
And the necktie party was a go, by God.
They laid hands on him and he was a goner,
They hammered him to pieces and he stood up.
They buried him and he walked out of the grave, by God,
Asking again: Where did that blood come from?



The Industrial Pioneer

Edited By John A. Gahan

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Volume III. No. 4

AUGUST, 1925

Whole Number 28

— CONTENTS —

Editorials	2
Rubber Slavery At Akron.....	A Rubber Worker..... 3
A Prison Idyll	"Aussie"..... 6
White Terror In China.....	Francis J. Malloy..... 9
To An Orthodox Minister.....	Warren George Weiss..... 11
The Essence of Industrialism.....	Warren Lamson..... 12
How Distances Are Annihilated.....	15
These Twenty Years.....	Warren Lamson..... 16
Industrial Observations.....	Card No. 264978..... 19
Electricity	T-Bone Slim..... 21
The Road To Autocracy.....	Hubert Langerock..... 22
Book and Motion Picture Reviews.....	25
A Militarizing Phase of Imperialism.....	Jack Braden..... 28
Wobbles.....	34
In the Making.....	Henry George Weiss..... 35
What Is the Economic Situation?.....	Covington Ami..... 36
Making a Social Revolutionist.....	Lloyd Emmons..... 39

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EDITORIALS

SELF-RELIANCE—In a society cleft into distinct and profoundly antagonistic economic elements with the producing strata occupying a subject position, it is to be expected that independence of thought and action on the workers' part is discouraged by the dictatorial minority. In every walk of life workers are trained to rely upon others for direction. An age of intense specialization giving to individuals, professional and technical groups wide knowledge of particular subjects lends itself admirably to continued subjugation of the masses through deprivation of initiative and control on their part.

We do not question the social importance of technicians because we recognize their ability, but we are equally cognizant of their disabilities and lack of social vision. Workers, to say the least, should not regard themselves as one whit less necessary, therefore less desirable, to society. Scientists could not use test tubes, lenses, microscopes and a whole array of other tools of their callings without the prior labor of glass workers and other mechanics, and these skilled workers could not perform their trades without the assistance of common laborers, both before, during and after the operations peculiar to and constituting their skill. The proud labor aristocrat pulling the throttle of the locomotive depends very basically for his success and his life on the gandy-dancers, and the man who drives the spike is quite as socially necessary as the one who drives the locomotive.

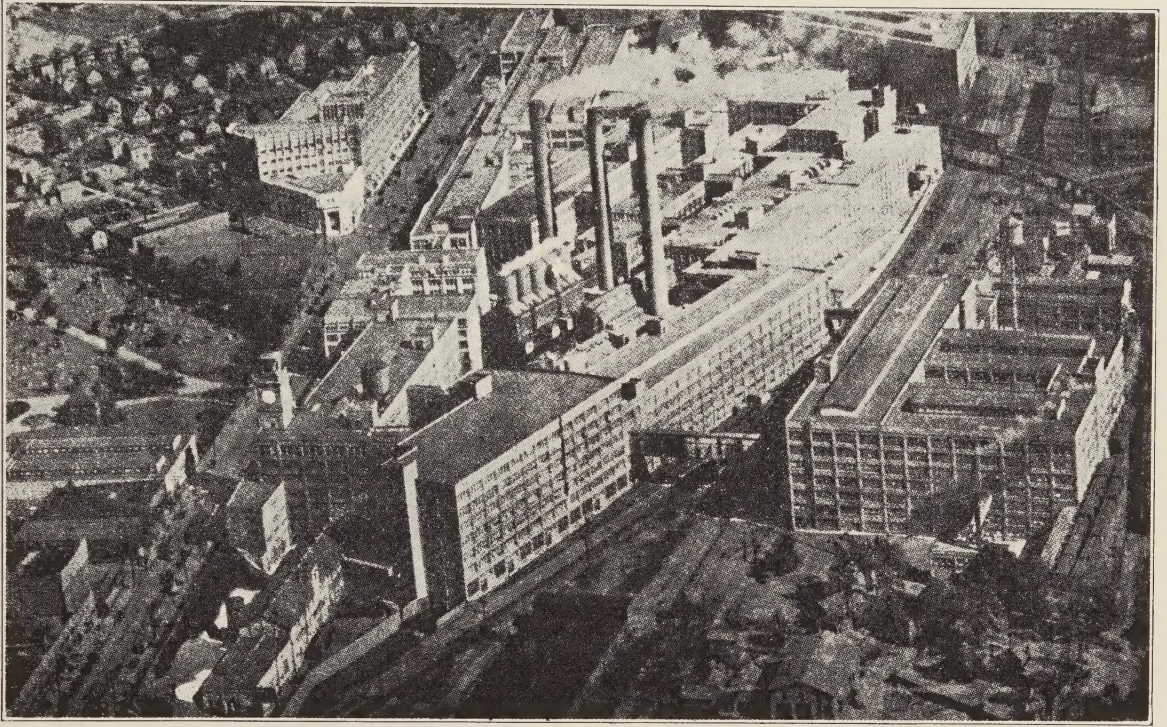
Creative processes complement each other and in any sane community there could prevail no caste distinctions bearing honors for certain productive strata and odium for others. To consider again caste differences it can be said with all assurance that the wage slave sweating in the ditch with pick and shovel frequently holds lofti-

er ideals of human progress than the lauded genius of the laboratory. Moreover, his ideals are, on the whole, of infinitely more scientific value than those of the great technician or scientist who often knows nothing about society. We have men and women of these professional elements who do contribute worthily to human advances, and to them we accord the same homage that we have always extended the street sweeper who safeguards our lives. But there are another, and perhaps more numerous, group of these experts whose work, directed by their bourgeois masters, contributes nothing but misery to the vast majority of mankind. Their labors evoke scorn. In this category are the chemists who are so assiduously engaged in perfecting death-dealing forms for warfare, and the engineers who are tirelessly toiling to outdo all others in the designing of engines of human destruction.

But in the control of capitalists the scientist and technician discovering laws and making devices that should really benefit the whole race, such as finding cheaper units of energy and inventing instruments to increase productivity, are actually working against the masses. This obtains because with every machine invention more workers are thrown out of employment than previously swarmed the labor market, and there is no solution except through working class ownership of the means of life. The laborer who understands this fact knows more than most of the scientists. The expert in science may be like a pilot who would steer blindly, intent only on manipulating the machinery properly, not seeing rapids ahead; or like one becoming so absorbed in motor car transmission on the road that he plunges over a cliff.

Workers must cease holding those with

(Continued on Page Forty-One)



THE GIGANTIC GOODYEAR PLANT LOCATED AT AKRON, OHIO

Rubber Slavery at Akron

By A RUBBER WORKER

WITHIN the last few years the rubber industry has assumed the proportions of a basic industry in this country and it is hardly receiving the attention from unionists that its importance would seem to merit. The production of rubber goods in the United States this year will be valued at about a billion dollars, over half of which will be produced in Akron, Ohio, where some forty or fifty thousand workers are employed without a vestige of organization.

The only rubber workers' union in this country is at Carrollton, Ohio, where a hundred or so workers are employed by the Tuscan Tire and Rubber Company. They are organized by the company for the use of the A. F. of L. union label which is expected to sell their product and save them from the fate that is in store for the small scale, inefficient manufacturers.

Akron is the center of this world-wide industry and is the home of many of the larger manufacturers, including Goodyear, Goodrich, Firestone, Miller and a score or more smaller ones. With the exception of Firestone all these larger shops and many of the small ones are owned or controlled by New York financiers.

These larger shops are giant horizontal trusts with their tentacles reaching out to all parts of the world and with distributing agencies everywhere, all under one management. The trend at present is to save transportation costs and tariff

duties by establishing manufacturing plants in all the principal consuming countries.

Some conception of the ramifications of these imperialist industries can be had by a perusal of the holdings of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber company, which is shown in the diagram. It is a 156-million-dollar business with 113 acres of floor space in the two Akron plants which have a tire producing capacity of 35,000 daily beside all the thousands of other hard and live rubber products. In 1923 this company produced, in Akron, California and Canada, 9,250,000 tires, 81,000,000 pairs of heels and 25,000,000 feet of hose. They used 50,000 tons of crude rubber and 15,500,000 kilowatt hours of electricity. These plants combined have a floor space of 166 acres.

This company has some thirty-five subsidiaries which include coal mines, rubber plantations, cotton plantations with irrigation projects, textile mills, timber tracts, a banking institution and rubber

factories in at least ten foreign countries. This list is constantly growing, as they have within the last few months added the million and a half dollar Marathon Tire and Rubber Company at Cuyahoga Falls, a suburb of Akron, and have paid several million dollars for two more textile mills at New Bedford, Massachusetts. The Zeppelin Corporation is also a recent acquisition, although they have for several years been building balloons and airships of the non-rigid and semi-rigid type and have an immense hangar and field near Akron. The Dodge Brothers Company of Detroit, Michigan and Walkerville, Ontario, Canada, has been purchased by Dillon, Read and Company of New York who own the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company. It is reported that they expect to add several more automobile plants to their string. These will not be a part of Goodyear but will be owned by the same group of capitalists, and E. G. Wilmer, who is chairman of the board of directors of Goodyear is expected to be president of the new company. If he holds both positions at the same time it can be seen that cooperation between them will be very close.

It can plainly be seen that capital is truly international and that narrow nationalism is intended to keep only the workers divided.

Apropos the concentration of capital, it is interesting to note that despite the marvelous growth of the industry in the last few years the number of rubber companies in the United States has decreased from 300 to 100 or 66 per cent since 1900.

The ratio of units produced to men employed has increased by leaps and bounds. In only a few years production has more than doubled, while the number of men and women employed has been reduced to less than a third. This is accomplished by adding more elaborate machinery, by simplifying the process, and last, but by far the most important, by increasing the already killing speed at which the men have to work.

These large companies are firm believers in industrial unionism and have powerful organizations. They will not tolerate it among the workers, however, and will ruthlessly crush even an A. F. of L. union with spies and intimidation if necessary, but in most cases it has been found more effective to amuse the workers with many diversions and schemes to keep their minds off their troubles. Of

these schemes there are many, including sports and athletics, clubs, etc., and the Goodyear has the best one of all. They call it "Industrial Democracy."

Goodyear's Industrial Democracy

The Industrial Assembly was established in 1919 and is patterned after the National Congress. It is composed of a Senate of 20 members with at least five years' service and a House of Representatives of 40 members with at least one year of service. These are elected by the Industrials. The Industrials are American citizens, 18 years of age or over, and have at least six months' service with the company. Note how they promote race consciousness and division among the workers.

Members of the assembly are in perpetual fear of their jobs and of course are very servile. Once however, when the assembly was first organized, some of the more intrepid started a move to raise the wages of all workers by fifteen per cent. This passed the House and Senate but was vetoed by the factory manager. It was passed again over his veto and went to the board of directors where it was again vetoed, their action being final.

There are always plenty of candidates for office as members of the Assembly as these members, while attending to their duties get their regular pay plus ten per cent and have other privileges. They have no difficulty in getting out the vote. The factory manager makes the statement that to vote is a privilege and a duty and the votes are cast. In my department at last election there were but two who did not vote. I didn't hear who the other

was or what happened to him, but I've been doing all the most disagreeable work ever since.

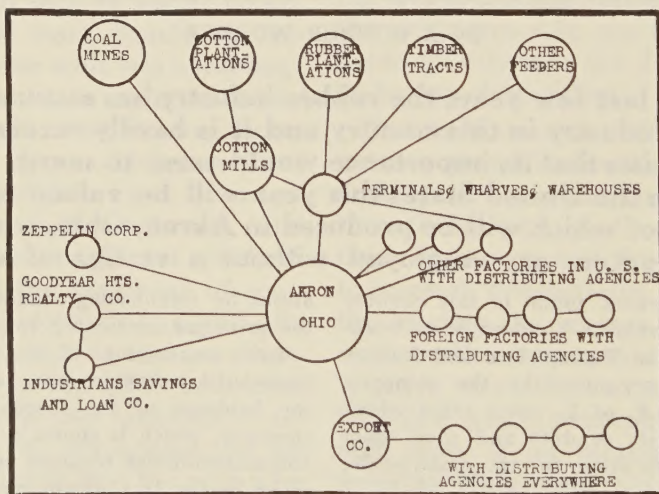
The department managers actually make work for the Assembly by imposing some petty tyranny on the workers, then very obligingly adjusting the matter when it is taken up by the committee, thus giving the Assembly a great deal of credit. Strange as it may seem there are a

few workers who believe this "Democracy" to be a great blessing conferred upon them by a benevolent employer.

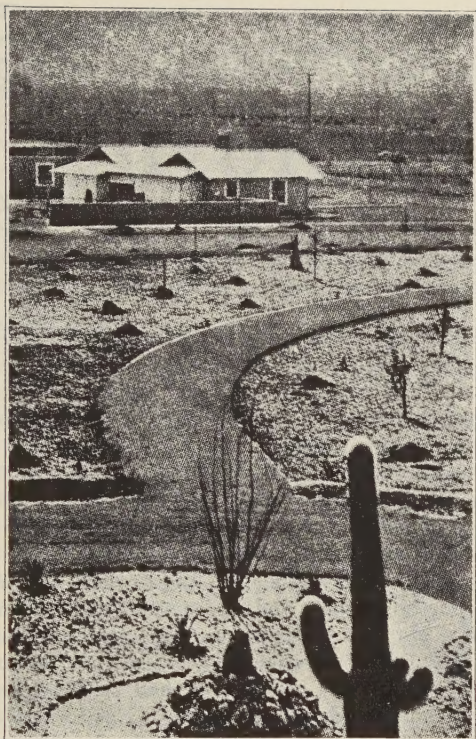
It is a dandy little plaything to keep the children out of mischief.

Flying Squadron

Following the 1913 strike, which crippled the shops here for some time, the Goodyear formed what they called the "Flying Squadron." It is



GOODYEAR TIRE AND RUBBER COMPANY
35 Subsidiaries Operating In All Principal Countries.



GOODYEAR COTTON PLANTATION IN IRRIGATED SECTION OF ARIZONA.

composed of about 60 men, two added each year, and who are carefully selected for "character" which means loyalty to the boss. They are given three years' training, then given a regular job in some department where they are treated the same as anyone else except that they would be the last to go when workers are laid off and that they are subject to call in case of "emergency."

During the three years these men have to work in every department and learn practically every operation. They are also given physical and some technical training in Goodyear's private head-fixing institution, The Goodyear Industrial University. There is also a lot of folderal that it designed to make the squad man feel very superior to his fellow workers. The object of the flying squadron is to provide a body of loyal workers trained to break a strike in any department should one occur. It is, however, mainly effective as a moral influence or threat and would be powerless in case all the workers in the shop were organized so as to make possible a shop-wide strike.

The Old Game of Debt

One of the very effective schemes this company has for keeping the workers' noses on the stone is to keep them in debt. Goodyear owned several tracts of land in and near Akron, and one of these, known as Goodyear Heights, was consigned to a subsidiary known as Goodyear Heights Realty Company, which operates in close cooperation with another subsidiary, The Industrials Savings and

Loan Company. The Goodyear Heights Realty Company subdivided this tract into very small lots, constructed streets, sewers and other necessities and built what they had the nerve to call houses. These houses were very pretty when first built, but were constructed as cheaply as possible. It has been said of them that there is just enough house to hold the paint and wallpaper in a vertical position. These houses sold to Goodyear employees on the installment plan for from three to seven thousand dollars, with the understanding that if the purchaser stayed with the company a specified period of time a portion of the purchase price would be deducted. Consequently, those purchasers are very careful not to do anything that would bring about their dismissal.

Many of these homes will be mortgaged when they have fallen down.

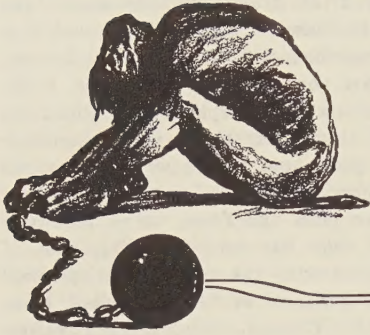
A. F. of L. Treachery

Early in 1923 a few hundred tire and band builders employed at Goodrich came out on an unorganized strike against a cut in wages. They went to Central Union hall and elected a strike committee led by two individuals who were later found to be private detective. This committee, at the suggestion of Sam Newman of the machinists, sent for an A. F. of L. organizer to come and try to organize the rubber workers. Let me say here that Sam Newman, despite his affiliation with that group of autocrats known as the A. F. of L., was as sincere as anyone could possibly be, and he worked hard and long, even when he could no longer hold a job himself, to induce the rubber workers to organize and fight. If the rubber workers had started to form an independent or an I. W. W. union I believe Sam would have given them all the help he could. I have seen him out in the early morning with handbills to give the workers on the first shift when the rubber workers themselves would not get up and help.

Thomas J. Conboy, an A. F. of L. organizer, was sent to Akron in response to the request, and proceeded to organize a union of the strikers and some other rubber workers who had made inquiries of the C. L. U. Conboy was loyal to the machine and demanded that the union be loyal also. The rubber workers, however, demanded that the first consideration of the union be effectiveness. As the union couldn't be both loyal and effective, a struggle for control soon started and the rubber workers won, electing a group of progressives to office. Conboy wouldn't give in and called in the police one day to oust some reds. Thus it was that the union exploded.

The craft unions were very anxious to organize the rubber workers because their little groups were unable to function effectively with the great majority of Akron's workers unorganized, but to help them the union must be loyal so they adopted the "Rule or Ruin" policy when the union was first

(Continued on Page Forty-Four)



A Prison Idyll

By "AUSSIE"

EARLY in 1916, the Labor Party in the Federal Parliament in Australia were busy "winning the war." Senator George Foster Pearce, a lugubrious, rabbit-faced ex-cabinetmaker from West Australia, was the Minister of Defense, and woe it was to anyone who did not have the same viewpoint as to the righteousness of the war as he did. Needless to say his chief, William Morris Hughes—who had emigrated from Wales to Australia by walking along the sea bottom—backed the gloomy and misanthropic Pearce to the limit.

At this time I was publishing "Direct Action," while Tom Glynn was acting as editor. I published a cartoon by a young artist showing a soldier crucified on a huge field gun, while beneath were gathered several vulture-like capitalists catching with bowls the blood which flowed from the dying soldier. Under the cartoon was a quotation from the prospectus—issued by the Labor Government—of the War Loan of the day, in which people were urged to take the loan as a patriotic duty—and the point was made—quite a telling point—that the interest was "far higher than that paid in normal times."

Some weeks later an intelligence officer found this cartoon and a warrant was issued for my arrest. After getting off to a false start, I was finally convicted by a magistrate with a very bad breath of "prejudicing recruiting" and sentenced to one year's imprisonment in a Labor Party prison with an alternative of a fine of £100.

The sentence was appealed at the Quarter Sessions but the judge upheld the lower court. On May 4 I was taken to Long Bay Penitentiary to begin my sentence for the heinous crime of not taking the same attitude on the war as the renegades, who were within the same year to be expelled with ignominy from the Labor Movement.

After two weeks in Long Bay, where I washed prisoners' clothing in the wash-house, I was put into irons with 17 more prisoners and sent to the big prison at Parramatta. Parramatta is a prison of the old type, used only for prisoners who have three or more convictions. No one is sent there who has a sentence of less than three months. The inmates include a large number of murderers, forgers, garrotters, thieves, hold-up men, sly-grogsellers (bootleggers), methylated spirit hounds, vagrants, ordinary drunks, and all kinds of offenders who have

previous records. I was the only political prisoner in this hungry bastille.

The cells in some of the wings are narrow, and unheated in winter time. A watery electric light bulb would give a gleam of light until 8 o'clock. The first two weeks I was in "Mad Mick's" wing. "Mad Mick," alias Daniel Ahearne, was a colossal Irishman with beetling brows and enormous black and filthy hands. He was a senior warden, and wore three stripes on his arm—they said that he had "bummed" his stripes. In the old days he had been a member of the famous Parramatta Gaol football team—the gang of huskies who used to charge a prisoner in his cell and then kick him about the body as he lay in agony on the floor. It was said that Mick had taken a vacation some months previously—the first one in ten years. He went to Melbourne in Victoria and hired a room near Pentridge Prison—and got a permit to visit this latter prison daily. He was lonely and from his business, was Mick.

I was very lonely in this prison, there being no one I could talk to, nothing to read. The nights were cold in the cell, and the bedding old, smelly and insufficient. Like every prisoner I thought of what I would eat when I would get out. Corn mush—with weevils and all—16 ounces of poor class bread and a chunk of wiry gristle and bone is not a very satisfying diet.

The governor, known to prisoners as "Micky Dripping," kept pigs. The pigs lived well even if the prisoners starved. "Micky Dripping" had sufficient of the Emerald Isle in his make-up lavishly to admire a lardy and grunting hog—his idea of earthly beauty.

After a week in the wing where "Mad Mick" reigned and hollered, I was sent to another wing mainly occupied by pimps, petty thieves and vagrants.

One night, I was carrying my corn meal "mush" into my cell to eat it hastily before my bed was thrown in and myself searched—when my door suddenly opened and a gruff voice demanded "How is your light burning, lad?"

I answered "All right."

He then said in a quieter tone "What's your name?"

"Aussie."

"All right, Aussie, you have a friend in me. I

know all about you. I've been round your meetings in the Domain. Where do you work?"

"In the bookbinder's shop."

"Do you smoke?"

"No."

"Would you like a newspaper—a "Direct Action"? I can get it to you in the shop where you work."

"Sure I would like a paper. Thanks."

He gave a door a rattle and hollered out again—his superiors were down below—"How's your light now, lad?"

"All right" I answered again.

I shook hands with myself. A friend IS a friend in jail.

Two days later he visited me in the workshop and he dropped a copy of "Direct Action" into an open drawer. I hastily smuggled it inside my shirt. In my cell that night when search was over, I read it under my hammock. The big headline was "SET AUSSIE FREE"!

The warder's name was Charley Keys—an appropriate name for a prison guard. But as the advertisers say, he was "different." He hated his job, had got into it somehow. But his job had a new zest for him now, he could aid a militant member of his class. He was outspoken, too, for he would sometimes call the attention of other officers to the door of my cell and say "There's a fellow in there with more brains and guts than all we fellows have got together. He's fighting for us and we turn the key on him."

During this time a big agitation was afoot outside to force my release. The unions and the political labor leagues were indignant at the Federal Labor Party for my arrest and imprisonment. Holman, the Labor Premier of New South Wales, went to Broken Hill for a political meeting. When he arrived there miners stopped his train and told him that he could not speak in the city until "Aussie" was released.

Little by little the federal ministers were getting tired of having me in prison. Big meetings were held in Sydney, which my friend Keys reported to me. He watched every newspaper and kept me supplied with cuttings about my case. Every Monday, when his duty brought him near me, he would detail what the speakers said about my case at the Domain meetings.

It was remarkable how his attentions to me were not noticed by some of the higher-ups nor by some of the pimping and snitchy prisoners—who are always present.

One cold Saturday morning, the iron tongue of the prison bell woke us from our fitful slumber. It was still dark and one had to grope to dress and make up his bedding.

A second bell and the officers unlocked the cells. My door unlocked and a dark figure handed me a piece of paper. A familiar voice whispered, "A note from the boys, Aussie. The government has cut your time from a year to three months. Con-

gratulation, boy! Read the note and then get rid of it."

We passed out in the yard, I clutching my precious letter in my shirt. My heart was joyous, even if the morning was cold and dark—the surroundings grim and forbidding. The Australian workers had been true, my good fellow workers had triumphed over the government. For the second time in two years the government had been compelled to yield, and to release me before the expiration of my sentence.

The letter told me all. And at 11 o'clock the Scotch chief warder marched me in front of "Mickey Dripping" who was impressed very much apparently by the very unusual action of the government in cutting my sentence down 75 per cent.

"Phwat's yer name?" he asked—as if he didn't know.

"Aussie."

The chief warden nearly dropped dead.

"Sir-r-r" he screamed.

"Sir-r-r" I shrilled falsetto-like.

He turned purple all over the face, it spread to his ginger hair and suffused his skinny and wrinkled neck—nothing very edifying to Scotland.

"Aussie," sniggered "Mickey Dripping," "yer sentence has been reduced by the guverment to three months, and yer fine to twenty-five pounds. I note ye have sufficient to pay yer fine. If ye care to do so, ye can go free this mar-ning."

"No," I said, "I don't pay for the privilege of speaking or printing what I think is right, even if the government doesn't like it. I'll finish the term."

And so out I marched, with about four more weeks to serve.

A week later I saw my friend Charlie passing through the shop. He looked glum, miserable, discontented. He spoke to me.

"I cannot stick this lousy job any longer. I am going to turn in my clothes and go out navying, laboring, anything rather than do this rottenest of all jobs. I can lock up drunks and vags, for it is THEIR home. But I draw the line on turning the lock on men like you. To see you marching in that line of old-time habitual prisoners acts like the sear of a red-hot iron on me. The food I eat in the boarding-house when I think of you with you weevily corn mush, the bread like sawdust and the lousy morsel of worn-out bullock which they glorify by the name of beef, nearly chokes me. I am going to quit this week. The only thing that has held me here so long has been the fact that I was able to help you."

He was too useful to me. "Hang on, Charlie, for another month," I said; "you may be able to help me some more."

"All right," he whispered. "I'll sit on my feelings and principles a litle longer."

The days dragged away one by one. How one gladly sees his life's days pass away when in prison! Weeks, hours, even minutes, seem to go with

leaden wings. The long, bleak, cold nights in a narrow cell, when the prison is wrapped in a yellow mist. When violent rain and wind storms eddy and careen around the grim and hostile walls, while the guards on watch curse their fate and growl the call, "All's Well!" and long for the call of the iron-throated bell that wakes the living dead to another day of torment and misery.

"If 'all's well' with you, then 'all's well' with me," I used to say as I turned in my mouldy blankets to make another effort at wooing good Mother Sleep.

On the second of August I saw Charlie for a brief moment. "You're going out tomorrow? Good. I'll see you in Sydney."

Later in the day I was in "Mad Mick's" wing. Mick received them and Mick checked them out. My beard was a good month old. "Now," said Mick, "here's a razor, and here's a strop and here's some soap and here's a looking glass and here's a br-brush. Now when 'oo shaves does 'oo use hot wather or cold wather?"

"Hot water."

"All right; if 'oo wants hot wather, 'oo can have hot wather. Does 'oo know where the boiler house is?"

"I do, Mr. Ahearne."

"Then, go down to the engineer, and tell him that Mr. Ahearne send 'oo for some hot wather."

And so I shaved and took a bath after which I undressed to the skin in the corridor. Then Mick pushed me into a cell where my civilian clothes were waiting for me. This method was used to prevent prisoners taking out letters from inmates.

After being searched I settled down for the night. I did not steep, but counted the chimes striking the hour from a neighboring church clock. At 5 a. m. I arose and put on my own clothing. At 5:45 a rattle of keys was heard and the second warden on night duty opened up and said, "What is your name?"

"Aussie."

"All right, come on. There's a car waiting outside. Maybe it's for you—?"

"I don't think so."

A few minutes later I received my valuables from the Deputy-Governor. I started for the gate, the only time-expired prisoner that morning, in a jail with 300 prisoners. A squad of prison guards passed me in single file, going on duty for the day. The first man in the file was Keys. He gave me a keen look, a sardonic look, I thought.

Outside the walls a car was waiting for me. Joe Fagan, Billy Teen and one of the Franks had come up to take me home in style. We rolled into Sydney on a stormy and squally morning. Breakfast, I remember, was roast pork with stewed apples. I was back among real folks again, among fellow workers, human beings with red blood in their veins, with courage and a class-conscious spirit.

We drove around Sydney. I was welcomed back to work by the people who had compelled my release.

At night the Sussex Street Hall was lit up in my honor. An enormous crowd was there to meet me. The I. W. W. band played in the street. The women fellow workers, always hospitable, were giving out sandwiches and tea.

Speeches were made by men who were themselves soon to taste of prison, to taste a far greater punishment than that which had befallen me. My few months was the forerunner of many years, of a violent persecution by political renegades and charlatans, of political cowardice by so-called labor parliamentarians.

At the height of the festivities a man came straight through the hall to me. For a moment I did not recognize him. Then as he clasped my hand—for the first time—I saw that it was Charlie Keys—whom I had only seen in the uniform of a prison officer.

We were in a place where we could talk freely. We embraced each other. I forced coffee and cake on him. His face was shining.

"Now," he said, "I am going to join the I. W. W." "You're a great fellow, Charlie," I said; "you've acted whiter than lots of men I could call fellow workers, but the I. W. W. bars both policemen and jail officials."

He smiled. "Listen till I've finished then you'll know that I can join the I. W. W. This morning after I passed you at the gate, I made up my mind that my job was no longer good to me. We let the prisoners out for wash-up, and then locked them up for breakfast. Then we had our own breakfast. After that we were all standing around in the yard waiting for the bell to unlock the cells to get the prisoners to work.

"You know Churchman the senior warden on the gate?" I remembered him as one of the tough birds in the administration. "Well, Churchman opened up his mouth. Says he, 'I see that **bastard** Aussie went out this morning in a motor car. A **bastard** like him ought to have been carried out in a hearse.'

"He was standing near the gate, which was still ajar, for some of the warders not yet back from breakfast. With a glance at the open gate I sprang for his jaw with my left. My right got him in the wind as he staggered backwards. He fell like a pole-axed bullock. He lay still. In a brief second while everyone stood thunderstruck, I unhitched my belt and ran my fingers through my coat buttons. In a flash they were off. I threw them on Mr. Churchman's carcass and sprang for the gate.

"Yes, Aussie has left, and now I'm leaving too. Goodbye!"

"So now," he said, "how about me getting a card?"

And he got one.



MILITANT CHINESE STUDENTS CLASHED WITH FOREIGN SOLDIERY WHEN THE FORMER TRIED TO SET FIRE TO THE FOREIGN ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDINGS.

White Terror in China

By FRANCIS J. MALLOY

SECRETARY of State Kellogg has communicated with the various imperialist governments concerning the advisability of holding a conference on the Chinese situation. The capitalists of this country with Chinese holdings, and the ones who have designs upon China, wish to maneuver themselves into a position of undisputed preeminence in China. This means that they are not satisfied with China's treaty governing foreign relations. Great Britain and Japan are well entrenched in China. America has not been so long in the business of Chinese penetration, but her industrial position is the world's foremost and the world war placed her indisputably at the head of capitalist nations. Consequently, anything less than domination must be distasteful to American banker-industrialists.

Press reports say that Foreign Minister Chamberlain made the following statement in the House of Commons relative to the American state department's communication: "Britain is not prepared to renounce extra-territorial privileges in China." In other words, England has a select position for exploiting China which she has no intention of relinquishing.

A few weeks ago nearly a score of battleships steamed up to Shanghai to quell the strike of 150,000 Chinese wage slaves and their sympathizers. The foreigners murdered a number of strikers and students, American marines being the first to land. And that is significant. It shows that the bosses instigating the movement of these marines are not a bit backward about the matter of initiative. Significant, too, is the fact that the strike was against a Japanese employer, but the warships were flying the polychromatic fetishes of the United States, France, Italy, England and Japan. Fight among themselves as they will for the best points in the grab game, they evince a solidarity that has its

lessons for us, and that gains its successes through a demonstration of organized strength in attacking its adversaries.

Marks of Capitalism

Penetration of China by foreign capitalists means the introduction of Western wage slavery. Wherever capitalism enters its dehumanizing marks are speedily impressed. Its development in England furnished the classic examples of fearful stories in the not too roseate history of the race. Destroying home industries; filling the factories with men, women and children, with the women and children at a ten to one numerical ascendancy over the males; driving peasants from their land to make sheep pastures to supply the woolen manufactures; and filling the highways with ragged, hungry, homeless and hopeless vagrants unable to find employment capitalism rose in Nineteenth Century England. Then was it that the great English fortunes ceased to have their roots in piracy and found a more profitable, God-ordained source in the grinding of the masses through the machine process. So

rapacious were the early English employers under capitalism that they emptied almshouses and orphanages for slave flesh. Their factory conditions were so destructive of human life that they were rapidly decimating and enervating their slave population. It became imperative to place a curb on their own greed, which is immortalized in statutory form under the Factory Acts. Thus did they keep themselves and one another from killing off all the wage slaves. The goose that lays the golden eggs was not to be destroyed.

China has a system of wage slavery corresponding to that of the older systems. There is widespread child labor and employment of women of all ages and conditions. In America we are used to this driving, this hurrying, worrying, torturing thing that is monstrously unfair, unscientific and a cancer eating at the social body. We have been trained to accept our slavery with our national holidays and our unemployment and Christianity. But the Chinese have another way of viewing life, and evaluations that are quite different. They don't like the "New Freedom". They have their own traditions and their own religions. They have their nationalism to develop, and, with us, a working class internationalism to learn of.

Going into China Big Business pursues the same course as it has elsewhere. The missionaries on one side and the factory managers on the other constitute a holy alliance that has stamped its characteristics on every land beneath the sun. This alliance went into Africa, and is having some difficulty there with the Riff tribesmen at this moment as it experienced hindrances from Congo tribes in the past and from the Boers at the other extremity of the Dark Continent. The alliance entered India and the Americas; it went to the East and West Indies, to the Far North and Far South, and to all the islands of the great oceans. Always with bibles, hymnals and the policy of exploitation.

The Example of Hawaii

Hawaii well illustrates the point. It is a picturesque example, with a French gunboat going in to open a rum trade suggested by French molasses interests in the West Indies. Under the frowning gun-turrets squatted Jesuits. The blessings of civilization came to Hawaii. The population was nearly wiped out by diseases introduced by the invaders. Then American Protestant missionaries came to the scene, stole the lands, and succeeded in "annexing the United States," as they say in the exclusive clubs of Honolulu. But they did not quite succeed in proselytizing the natives. Nor are they going to do the trick in China, whose civilization is older and greater, and whose potentialities are so vast.

The student movement in China is the voice of nationalism. It is a clear voice commanding attention and worthy of respect. The Shanghai strike embodies the two-fold aspect of nationalism and awakening class consciousness. But there can be no industrial organization without industries, and

these are new in China. The Chinese workers, headed by the militant and broadminded Chinese Seamen's Union, have made the great gesture. Their strike is the opening gun. So long as there are factories owned by private individuals to make profits there will be strikes. Our Chinese fellow workers have definitely set about the task of uniting to oppose the mailed fist of international capitalism. Our greetings go out to them, and we owe them our solidarity. The best way to show it is to organize right here in the United States where are made the bulk of the resources being used to beat down the Chinese.

Internationalism

Nationalism fills its basin to the brink before it overflows into internationalism. Capitalist progress bears out this statement. When the resources of a country have been exploited to a point of overflowing capital looks abroad for expansion. American capitalism developed domestic resources to the limit before it spread to foreign fields. Bankers know that in human relations the era of isolation has forever been passed, that we live in a period of internationalism. Wars prove this. When they appear they drag into the maelstrom most of the strongest states. There is no time of comparative prosperity or of unemployment in any country that does not reflect itself to the ends of the earth. Capitalists fully understand these matters. They are alert to their class interests. By organizing they prove that they have this understanding. They perceive the gigantic enemy, the terrific menace, and they act together from base to keystone to keep this powerful foe from waking and uniting. If once the working class learns its strength down go the bars that cage its flesh and soul, and snapped are the chains weighing it in the shambles.

We rejoice in the Chinese protest; we recognize the difficulties. Alone the Chinese workers can but continue to build their unions. With the workers of the world they shall one day use these unions to smash their exploiters with the blows from which there is no recovery. Capitalism is worldwide. Capitalist organization opposing the workers is worldwide. Industrial unionism must be equally international, equally universal, equally aware of the existence of one enemy, and equally prepared to destroy that enemy when the final clash comes.

There is a white terror in China. Wherever business empire enters there stalks the white terror, with hands red with blood. We have its expression in America. Battle scenes of the class war in this land of the free and the home of the brave are far-flung. Until now we have not, as an American working class, learned to be class conscious. So the white terror here has walked over our bowed backs to world domination.

The vigorous action of our Chinese fellow workers promises a class consciousness there that may well become an example for the workers of the world to follow.

To an Orthodox Minister

By HENRY GEORGE WEISS

YOU stand for him? You stand? Don't make me laugh!
You with your wise smug saws, your well filled board,
Your canting sermons and your goldrimmed specs,
Your portly deacons and your church-made lord.

YOU stand for him! You fool, you dupe, you knave,—
Whichever of the three you hap to be,—
What know you of the simple working man
Two thousand years ago spiked to a tree?

YOUR kind was there, rich, arrogant and proud,
To see him framed, thorn-crowned and crucified;
High priests and Pharisees, the Temple crowd,
To seek his death, to spit on him, deride.

"HE stirreth up the people," was their cry;
"He damns the rich and lifteth up the poor;
He is a foe to Caesar —crucify!
Away with him, the bastard of a whore!"

YOUR kind! Remember that! The likes of you!
The Church's own anointed ones, the rich,
All banded there to hound unto his doom
The migratory casual from the ditch;—

THE hungry, homeless carpenter, so poor
He had not where at night to lay his head,
Who saw the wolf of want at Labor's door,
And cried aloud "give us our daily bread!"

THE working stiff, the lowly tramp, the vag,
Whose only vice was love, whose only crime
Was preaching brotherhood, was reaching hands
To lift his mired fellows from the slime.

YOU stand for him? You fool, you dupe, you knave,—
Whichever of the three you hap to be,—
The haloed Christ you've dragged within your church
Is not the murdered slave,—it is not he!

HE had no spotless robes, no gamboling lambs,
No gloried crowns upon his matted hair,
He did not live with rulers, bless their lands,
Consort with gold,—you lie!—he is not there!

BUT daily past your church the bleeding slaves
Go fainting with their cross to Calvary;
Your eyes are stopped with gold, your ears with pride,
Fool, knave or dupe, you look but do not see!

The Essence of Industrialism

By WARREN LAMSON

THE conception of a new social order, in which many of the evils of today shall be eliminated, is not new. But the conception of an industrial democracy, based wholly upon labor, is a decidedly new idea, an outgrowth of mass production. It differs from the Utopias of the ancients that were to be executed by fiat, and the social democracies and cooperative commonwealths of the socialists, that were to be inaugurated and administered through bureaucracies and legal processes, by depending upon the liberation of present suppressed or unorganized social forces for its birth.

It also differs from all former concepts of a new social order, in resting wholly upon labor. Labor is to be its creator and no other class than those engaged in socially necessary labor would find place in its proposed scheme of life.

This new social theory originated in the unions of the workers, and has been nourished and developed mainly by the Syndicalists of Europe and the I. W. W. of America. While faint anticipations of this concept may be found in the literature of their forerunners, it has remained for these to incorporate in their structures and philosophies provisions for the development of the idea, and the realization of the ideal. At the same time it would be a serious omission to overlook the fact that many of the ablest scholars of modern times have by reason of their training and knowledge, made valuable contributions to the unfolding of this conception.

Humanity has undergone many changes. Today the race is facing the greatest change of all, one in which the working class will follow the procedure of the bourgeoisie, and perform its "historic mission," or society will fall apart, its institutions crumble, and a new "dark age" envelop the earth, the effort of the past be wasted, with the race doomed to spend weary centuries of blind groping. This idea was expressed by Arturo Giovannitti in 1912 in the following words: "No, we do not covet your ass, your ox, your maid-servant nor your wife, but we do covet your factories, mines, mills and railroads. We rigidly insist and maintain that, outside of the working class, there can be no salvation in the social hereafter."

It is not the purpose of this work to submit proofs of the basic theories upon which these organizations rest, and which will at times be noted, i. e., theories of economics, etc. These theories have been developed, and published, in works upon which the writer does not feel able to improve.

The term "Industrialist," derived from "Industrial Unionist," which in all English-speaking countries roughly covers the groups advocating this concept, will be used in referring to them hereafter.

The evils of inequality are today vivid, and perceptible to most; they are obvious and need not be stated here.

New ideas have never been welcome, and their utterance has ever been and still is accompanied by personal risk, from individuals, associations and

governments; still modern man is far from being as conservative as the man of past ages. Social and industrial innovations are too often introduced today without the average man being consulted, at least the average worker, for such inherent conservative states of mind to remain unaffected.

The world is still, despite its mechanical progress, full of misery, ignorance and ugliness, and for the majority of the working class, insecurity, until it has become not a duty but a necessity for the workers to develop associations that will in some measure protect them.

Yet the foremost advocates of this new social order do not blame those who might properly be termed oppressors. They view them as products of the "system" and individually helpless to alter it collectively without the social vision, or the necessary knowledge of the needs of the workers and the life of society as it is today.

The concepts and theories of these groups rest upon the following premises:

1. That labor produces all wealth, and that wages are drawn from products already created, not from any vague thing, of no beginning or no end, "capital." To use the words of Lester F. Ward, "The 'wage fund' is a myth."
2. That society is in the play of social forces that today are neither controlled nor directed, nay, not even understood.
3. That just as the present social order depends on specialized, massed, human labor, the welfare and progress of humanity depends on that labor's ability to administer industry, and other—more incidental phases—of society.
4. That ability is as widely diffused among the workers as any other class. That it is opportunity that is lacking.
5. That it is not sufficient to leave the social development to the slow processes of evolution, but that organization is necessary to facilitate the process of change and to prevent social disorder which otherwise would accompany it.
6. That religion is but the idealization of the things we do not understand.
7. That any state, association, or social organization whatever, that rests upon and enfranchises all must be one in which education must be an important factor.

So far as the first of these premises is concerned,

it will not be further dealt with, it being already thoroughly expounded in Marx's "Capital."

Second premise: That society is in the play of social forces that today are neither controlled nor directed, nay, not even understood.

This assertion will be doubted by many who think that some connection can be seen between so-called wise statesmen and events.

It is not intended here to represent the Industrialists as ignoring such attempts as have been and are being made to control social forces. But on the other hand they assert that only a very small measure of success has been achieved and that no worldwide attempt has been made by the race as a whole to interpret these forces and work in accordance with them.

The action on the part of a corporation to exploit natural resources with human labor for the benefit of its stockholders—often to the detriment of the people as a whole—sometimes leading to disastrous wars—cannot be regarded as such: the attempt to boost the prices of farm products while millions are in want; the erection of tariff walls for the protection of infant (or bribing) industries cannot be classified as such, but only serve to demonstrate the premise. For what are social forces? A corporation of ten millions capital, unemployment, the liberating of fuel values from coal or oil, are all social forces.

They are today to some extent controlled and regulated by institutions like banking combines, national governments and chambers of commerce. But it is a one-sided control, exerted by a small group, only offering temporary and unsatisfactory relief for the first evils; and at times the unbridled and nonunderstood social forces break out in wars between nations, industrial crises and so on. The war between the working class and the employing class is furnishing a constant accompaniment of strife, at times breaking out in thundering discords of gigantic strikes and revolts that are crushed in blood and starvation.

Third premise: That, just as the present social order depends on specialized, massed, human labor, the welfare and progress of humanity depend on that labor's ability to administer industry, and other—more incidental—phases of society.

The civilizations of the ancients—Rome, Greece, Persia, China and Arabia—produced men of fully as much talent as the most enlightened statesmen of today. One thing they could not do with all their talent was to make the standard of the livelihood of the toilers, even remotely, approach that of the workers of modern industry. This requires the development of mechanical and engineering apparatus, which by producing an abundance cheapens the article. Our statesmen of today are in most cases mediocre men, agile politicians, and are not the cause of the present productivity of modern labor; nor could they indeed prevent it, though they have sometimes tried to do so.

The amazing productivity of modern industry was

made possible by massing labor and machinery in hitherto unheard of proportions. The trusts were a necessary, if disagreeable, by-product. Political representatives of the petit bourgeoisie, that rightly feared being wiped out by the coming of modern industrialism, failed to see that the present "trust-busting" tendency of all the so-called progressive political movements was the result; movements tackling the problem of how to make time move backwards.

The industrialist accepts the modern mode of production; yes, even the trusts. What he wants is to have the workers who are now employed by the trusts to choose and supervise the administration of the trust, and to create a super-trust, controlled in the same manner by all the workers.

The industrialist looks and works towards the future. The reformer and trust-buster look to the past or try desperately to maintain the status quo.

Fourth premise: That, ability is as widely diffused among the working class as any other and that it is only opportunity that is lacking.

The opinion is often held, even by members of the working class, that this class lacks the talent and ability to manage a society successfully in which all would be workers. They forget first of all, that all other classes would be merged in a classless society of producers, and that all of the genius of the degenerate nobilities, and the real ability which is not denied, of the bourgeoisie and professional classes, would then become a part of the property of the working class, or the new society, as the possessors became members of the new classless race.

However, the premise as stated affirms the innate ability of the present, despised working class.

The working class comprises not only the so-called manual laborer, but as well the so-called intellectual worker, a university professor, a mechanical or any other engineer; in short, anyone who works for wages belongs to the working class. The trend in modern industrial life tends to equalize the conditions of all workers, depressing the brain workers down to the low wages and insecurity of the manual laborer. Their interests become identical, and the sympathy between them increases.

There is no reason to believe that the manual laborer has inherited mental inability. The higher strata—intellectual as well as unintelligent—of society are continuously recruited from the lower. The reason that the manual laborers produce few intellectual achievements is that those of them who do, when recognized, are transferred into other groups of society.

The superstitions, errors and blunders of the working class are not due to lack of potential ability, but to lack of proper and accurate information. They reason as well as they can with the materials at hand and if their conclusions are wrong, the cause will not be found in any inherent mental deficiency, but in erroneous data.

Fifth premise: That it is not sufficient to leave the welfare of humanity to the slow processes of evo-

lution but that organization is necessary to facilitate the process of change, and to prevent the social disorder which would otherwise accompany it.

Despite popular opinion, created by newspaper writers on the subject ("les petits scienteste" of Sorel), evolution, or the blind mechanical forces do not necessarily, unless directed, make for continuous progress.

Some of the man-like apes are in all probability products of evolution starting from the same point as man. Lester F. Ward in relation to this says, "Every deviation from a straight course increases the tendency to deviate still further, and this goes on until some insurmountable obstacle is encountered."

What men believed to be decayed and obsolete, they, if it obstructs them, have a wholesome desire to change, but of course such desires can only proceed from the possibility of benefiting therefrom. One reason why many attempts to modify the social structure and abolish the evils that afflict mankind have failed is that the social forces were not understood, and those who attempted the work were consequently unable to direct or employ them. For this purpose an organization free from major antagonistic interests is necessary, which for that reason could continuously follow up such work.

With minor exceptions, the only ones who will wholeheartedly support a policy are those who will profit from it. The working class are primarily the ones who would profit by the establishment of an industrial democracy. That this might raise and improve the entire human race does not mean, and is not sufficient to call forth the support of those who benefit from the present social order, for they view the world through the spectacles of immediate interests. Industrial Democracy is the mission, and must be the work of the working class and of it alone.

Those masters of today are little people, pompous but with petty visions. They who would create new values, establish a new social order, and once for all lift man from the status of the brute, where he is the plaything of uncomprehended social forces and make him the master of the world, cannot proceed by half-hearted methods. On the other hand organization is necessary to arouse the workers to action, to create the spirit of the warrior, for such a new order requires new men. The social institutions, states and empires of man have crumbled many times in the past, and of late in Russia, and whether capitalism shall fall, or be overthrown, or be torn apart by its contradiction an international organization, an organization ready to reorganize society on new lines and carry on production, may save untold suffering, and prevent a debacle carrying the race back centuries in development.

In effectually organized labor lies the hope of the future salvation of the race. Modern labor adequately organized must be the redeemer of modern times.

Sixth premise. That religion is the idealization of the things we do not understand.

No attempt shall here be made to draw the reader through the philosophical systems that have been given to the world, with their endless arguments about the known and the unknown. It shall here be shown only why such a movement should not accept any religious dogmas, nor accept, as an organization, any religious guidance.

True there are some religionists who claim that their visions have all the purposes, and awaken all of the emotions of a social movement of this kind. In proof thereof they point out that all religions have attempted to unify the race, and that they have called forth at times all that was best in man.

However I must insist that this is mere quibbling, for all religions direct the thoughts of man away from earthly affairs, while the organizations themselves direct their attention themselves in a most odious manner to "mother earth" and her wealth, and if they call forth great effort on the part of their followers, they direct it for political and economic purposes. There is no democratic church!

Today, in all parts of the world, no matter what the dominant religion, there are hundreds of thousands who belong to no religion whatever, and this number contains the best minds, the most civilized people. Such persons' actions are usually in line with their ideals, while the difference between religious men's professed beliefs and their everyday acts are obvious, even to children. But an organization such as is necessary for the work with which we are dealing requires men to act in accordance with their conclusions.

True, we are not content with the actual present, we imagine the possible, we organize to reach it, but we do not leave the domain of which we have knowledge and contact, for one of which we have no knowledge, about which we must speculate. For to introduce such questions violates men's prejudices and creates the opportunity for the introduction of antagonisms of a nature to prevent unbiased administration, and research.

Many religious organizations and persons have interested themselves in the affairs of the workers, but their effect has been in every case bad; they do but muddy the waters, already murky.

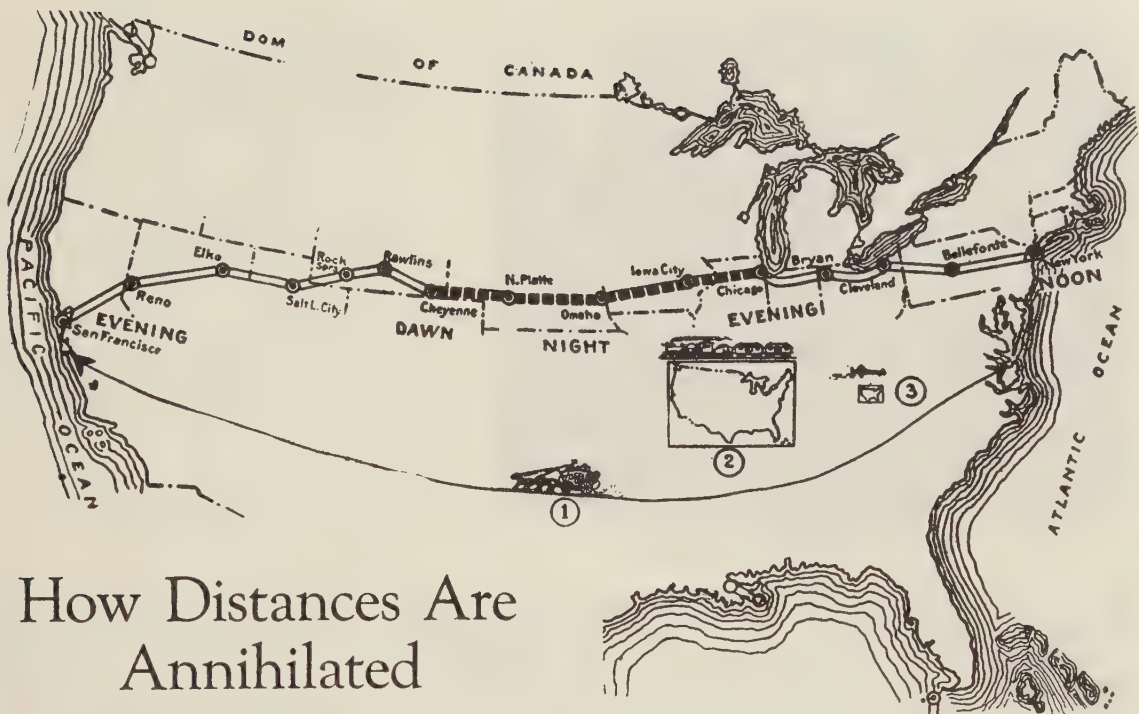
In the place of endless sermons and hosannaing of a bigoted creator, in the place of religion, we place humanity.

In the place of celestial paradise we substitute Industrial Democracy; for never ending bliss, economic freedom; for superstition, "a systematic conception of the universe."

However the various industrialist groups, which have developed the idea of society as an industrial-social organization, have a philosophy, a positive philosophy, a scientific philosophy; we refuse to take an idea and make the facts fit it, as all religious explanations do; neither do we accept the rigid philosophical systems of any particular philosopher. Ours is a philosophy based on demonstrated knowledge, to which many have contributed.

All errors in the administration of the affairs of man are derived from philosophical errors. Every

(Continued on Page Forty-Five)



How Distances Are Annihilated

IN the map above a sense of distance elimination brought about by evolution of transportation methods is conveyed. The diagram marked 2 shows how the distance between places, for practical purposes, was reduced through railroad transportation. The tiny inset marked 3 illustrates progress in this respect due to airplane service. This map was prepared by the Division of Topography of the Post Office Department.

Early days of western development depended upon the stage coach for passenger and baggage transportation. Then to gain speed in carrying small packages and letters the pony express was established with riders and horses relaying at each fifteen miles. These means of transportation gave way to the railroads.

Now the air mail service has made it possible to carry mail from New York to San Francisco in a little more than one day, and from Chicago to New York in six or eight hours.

While these advances are being made perfection of sending photographs by electrical means from one end of the continent to the other has almost been secured. This is called "telepix." And all are familiar with the radio.

The world that used to be so large has grown smaller, and men now go around it in the same time it took a hundred years ago to travel from New York to Pittsburgh. Go around it in comfort that was undreamed of at that time.

In ancient times with marauding bands, tribes of nomads and conquerors seeking expansion, Egypt preserved a civilization through many dynasties covering thousands of years because the Red Sea and a narrow desert protected her from eastern foes, while the desert to the west and the highland and

jungle to the south aided in this isolation. In parts of India there are peoples surrounded by mountains so effectually that they are strikingly different ethnologically from their neighbors. And, indeed, they are not neighbors in the sense of social intercourse. Railroads and airplanes would tear down this aloofness.

Because it was so difficult to transport troops and means of communication were so slow the American colonials were able to defeat the British. General Burgoyne proceeded southward expecting to meet a northgoing army of English in the Hudson valley, by which fusion would be smashed the "rebel backbone." But it took a long time to send the order across the Atlantic after an official in the war department in London had remembered to mail it. Today news flashes over the earth by cable and wireless, and men having conquered the land and the sea have made quick strides to conquer the air.

The peoples of the world are taught by patriotism to hate one another, and where the spirit of universal fraternity should prevail there is only bitter competition fostering race prejudice and fostered by it. This situation obtains because capitalists own the means of transportation and communication as well as the land and the factories. This also gives them ownership and control of the educational agencies.

Let the working people of the world that has become so accessible join in economic organization to utilize the means of life and communication in furtherance of cultural growth cognizant of universal brotherhood. This means the movement of the entire human race through the action of the organized working class to the commonwealth of cooperation.



FIGURE MARKED 1 IS WM. D. HAYWOOD.

These Twenty Years



By WARREN LAMSON

JULY 20, 1905, marked the beginning of a new epoch in the world's labor movement. On that date the first convention of the I. W. W. adjourned with over fifty thousand members committed to the overthrow of the wage system through general organization of the working class and the inauguration of a classless social system based upon democratic administration of industry.

Prior to this time the unions existing in America were not in any sense class instruments, but only combinations of individuals engaged in particular crafts. The new organization brought the struggle of the workers as a class directly to the point of production, and emphasized the cardinal principle that its object was the control of industry to be obtained by the efforts of the class itself and not through the legal processes and legislative enactments dreamed of by utopian socialists. The conceptual powers of political socialists were limited to the idea of capturing political government and they were always theoretically unable to devise any means of transforming society into an industrial democracy, the desired state. Transition periods worried, and still worry, these worthy ones.

The I. W. W. refused to be stalled in this labyrinth of creation by government fiat and looked upon the new society as the necessary product of a growth of desire and method of expression of the working class. It cut the Gordian knot of transition by building the structure of the new society within the shell of the old. It recognized that the working class correctly organized would be a greater arbiter of social destiny than the state; that those in control of the means of life control all social development.

The Real Enemy of Capitalism

It was this structural weapon that immediately made the I. W. W. the greatest menace to the ruling class. It is this conception of revolution that placed the I. W. W. in the forefront of all revolutionary movements. It is this conception that enables it to maintain that position regardless of fluctuating numerical strength. The working class permeated

with such a concept will accept no peace but victory. The I. W. W. was conceived and launched as the evolved product or previous revolutionary action. It was a fusion of many elements not identical with and superior to any single constituent contributing to its make-up.

The organization's early years were necessarily wasted in clarifying its position. It declined in membership, but its aggressive program still stood. About 1908, having freed itself of those who would pervert its principles, it began to make bid for leadership in the American labor movement. Its entire membership, not including strike membership, was small, but it was successfully demonstrating that its methods were the kind that win. In this short time it proved to the working class of the entire world that revolutionary industrial unionism was a superior weapon to political action or trade unionism.

During this time it had on its payroll a small battery of the ablest and sincerest organizers the American labor movement has ever possessed, of which Joseph J. Ettor, William D. Haywood, George Speed, William Trautman, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, James P. Thompson and Frank Little were the outstanding figures.

Early in this period attempts were made to organize the loggers in the Northwest. This work proceeded successfully until thousands were held within the organization, while its principles were understood and accepted by the loggers as a whole. Finally a Brotherhood of Timber Workers of the Southern timber belt joined in a body. This organization, formed in the home of racial friction and hatred, admitted members of both the negro and

white races to all of the privileges of the union, proving that race prejudice is no serious obstacle to determined and clear-thinking men. These lumber workers of the South and the Northwest formed the National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers.

During these same years the I. W. W. conducted an aggressive campaign in the textile industry. Strikes were conducted in Lowell, Lawrence, New Bedford, Massachusetts, Paterson, New Jersey, Little Falls, New York, and many other places. In all of these places they had to contend with many nationalities, but they never permitted these obstacles to prevent them from achieving their ends. They taught them, Italian, Polish, Belgian, Turk, Armenian and all of them, women, children and men—to fight as a unit. Out of this series of successful strikes came the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers which at one time had some 40 locals located in the textile towns of the East.

Another series of strikes and activities were conducted in several ports, notably Philadelphia, New Orleans and San Pedro, California. These activities brought forth the National Industrial Union of Marine Transport Workers. Its largest local was in Philadelphia, but there were some half dozen locals in other ports.

The organizers of the I. W. W. during these fruitful years also made a titanic effort to secure control of the steel industry. In 1909-10 they bearded the steel trust in cossack-ridden Pennsylvania, conducting strikes in McKees Rocks, Butler, New Castle and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. In practically all of these strikes they had to fight the discredited internationals of the A. F. of L. Thousands were organized.

Many Nationalities United

These mills, like the textile mills, employed workers of many nationalities, oftentimes hereditary enemies, but the organizers of the I. W. W. did not for one moment allow these national divisions to hamper them. They were not organizing nationalities but workers. In McKees Rocks, the scene of the most spectacular strike, they tamed the famous Pennsylvania cossacks and beat the steel barons at every point in tactics. In Bethlehem, where the I. A. M. was in charge, the I. W. W. organizers were at first welcomed, as they were needed to get the workers out of the mills. The I. A. M., however, fearing that it would lose control, managed to bar Ettor and Schmidt, the I. W. W. representatives, from the strike.

One of the most promising developments of the strike at McKees Rocks was that both the railroad men and the steamboat employees refused to haul scabs, this over the protests of their union officials.

Two things were demonstrated in the raids on the steel and the woolen trusts. First: that the rank and file of the working class is revolutionary enough to bring about a social revolution the moment that an adequate machine is devised through



JAMES P. THOMPSON
Forceful Orator of I. W. W. for These Twenty Years.

which this revolutionary energy can manifest itself in an organized and concerted manner. Second: that religious belief has but little to do with a worker becoming a revolutionist. In these fortresses of the trust barons the workers, regardless of religious tenets, spoke of a labor trust, sang the International, and put their trust in the One Big Union. They were not troubled about the past failures or splits of the I. W. W., nor by the bad reputation given to it by capitalist agencies. They recognized that the program and tactics of the I. W. W. filled the workers' needs.

The First Struggle for Structure

The organization in 1913 was torn with dissension which caused a cessation of its activities in the East. This was a struggle for structure. The organization had a universal structure, which was that of national industrial unions and local industrial unions. Mixed locals or recruiting unions were established where there were members, but not sufficient to charter industrial locals. These were supposed to bring about their own dissolution by organizing sufficient members to charter industrial locals, but this never worked except in theory. There was a universal per capita rate for the industrial local to pay to the National I. U. All of these matters were determined in the general convention and not in the conventions of the N. I. U.'s. The migratory workers of the West had always accepted the idea of industrial unionism, but functioning unions did not result; the mixed locals did not meet their needs. A decentralization movement arose, and while it had some good points, it had many that were absurd, such as abolishing the G. E. B. and all general authority. The decentralizers were defeated in the 8th Annual Convention. The organization, however, remained dormant till 1915.

Tapping a New Field

In 1911 a small group of members met in Kansas City, and laid out a plan for organizing the harvest workers, who were then, as usual, gathering for the annual wheat harvest. They organized many members that year and formed what was known as the Agricultural Workers' Organization. It had no locals but was in reality one large local with branches covering the entire industry. These branches had no membership nor treasuries. The members had the branch, but the branch had no members. This temporary structure suited the mobile personnel of the harvest hand well. In 1916 they again organized thousands, and when they came to the general convention that winter their program was adopted as a universal structure for the organization. This change in structure permitted functioning unions to be developed in the logging, general construction, and agricultural industries and among the sea-faring workers. For several years the organization grew in strength and prestige in these fields, but on the other hand it did not permit growth in the stable industries, but on the contrary killed off what union had been built in them with much effort. This growth continued till war having been declared many of the ablest organizers were removed by arrest. Despite the removal of many of their ablest men the union still held some 30,000 or more members, though it now initiated more members in a year than paid dues in any one month.

Battles were fought and won. The agricultural workers, faced with persecution both from state and municipal authorities, forced up the wages and cut down the hours. Hundreds were arrested, but the work never stopped. In the Northwest the lumber workers during the war gained the eight-hour day and many improved working conditions which they still hold. This organization was achieved



JOS. J. ETTOR

Who was Tried for Murder in Lawrence Strike and Acquitted.



ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
at the Time of Her Activity in the I. W. W.

only after a fierce struggle. The Everett Massacre was enacted in 1916, where the hirelings of Big Business were deputized to fire upon a landing steamer filled with unarmed men, and in which the powers of the state were used to persecute the outraged passengers rather than the thugs who, from the dock, had fired upon a helpless and unarmed group of singing workers.

Many men were organized in the steel and railroad industries, but due to the fact that these workers were seething with revolt, with its structure and tactics fitted to the migratory personnel of the agricultural, general construction and logging industries, functioning unions could not result and the organization could not hold them. Thus the universal in structure and methods was again bringing about dissension and it was only logical that a struggle would again take place.

The Factional Fight

In 1924 the General Executive Board and the general administration officials split into two factions, one upholding the need of a powerful general organization, and one adhering to the idea with certain modifications the decentralizers had put forward in 1913. Those adhering to the idea of the decentralizers being prevented by a group of the membership in the vicinity of the headquarters of the general organization from destroying the general organization, without a convention adopting such a program, withdrew and set up a separate organization. This attempt to inaugurate a separate I. W. W. without the consent of the general convention, and without traversing the regular legislative channels of the organization, coupled with the fact that this faction appealed to the jurisdictional wing of the capitalist state rather than to the membership for support, caused their support to be limited, the majority of the membership and all of the machinery of the organization remaining with the parent organization.

This split, however, though small, has awakened the membership to the necessity of once and for all time solving the struggle for structure, and it

(Continued on Page Forty-Seven)

Industrial Observations

By CARD No. 264978

WE were recently told by no less an authority than the Secretary of Labor that the army of unemployed in the United States numbers more than six million workers. In this figure is not included the great army of migratory workers, who never enter the records of the Department of Labor. By including these workers in our figures it is safe to state that the army of unemployed exceeds the 7,000,000 quota.

Where do we find all this unemployment? A trip through the Eastern industrial centers will disclose, even to a casual observer, that the figures quoted above cannot be very much exaggerated. Having recently had an opportunity to visit the large industrial cities and centers in the East, I will endeavor to set forth, as exactly as it is possible, the conditions encountered.

New York is really too immense in its dimensions anywhere accurately to estimate the prevailing unemployment. All one can do is to venture a guess. However, a worker looking for a job in almost any industry will find it very difficult to obtain employment. The only exception is in certain trades in the building industry, such as carpenters, bricklayers, painters, etc. So far as the majority of the workers, even in the building construction work are concerned, they are confronted with a large surplus of labor power and a scarcity of buyers of that particular commodity.

You will be informed, while in New York, that the various trades in the building industry are making big money, ten, twelve, and fourteen dollars a day. But if you inquire as to the pay received by the laborers, digging the cellars, packing the cement or mixing the concrete for these giant mansions of the idle rich, you will find out that 50 cents an hour for the hardest kind of work is ahead at top speed for ten or more hours a day, is rather the rule than the exception. You are also told that it is mainly Italians who perform this kind of work, and that they cannot be included with building workers proper.

Even the so-called skilled workers find themselves oftentimes working for 25 to 50 per cent less than their scale calls for. The steel construction workers are supposedly paid at the rate of \$1.50 per hour, but there are buildings in New York being erected where those workers toil for half that price. Besides we find among this group of workers a very great percentage unemployed.

Outside of the building industry there is hardly a decent job obtainable in the city of New York. Thousands are gathering around the various factory gates, at the waterfront and at all places where workers are engaged in productive activity, offering themselves, or their power to labor, for sale for almost anything the employers see fit to offer.

The cost of living is so out of all proportion to the pitiful wages paid in New York that it is

impossible to understand how the workers manage to exist. A poor dwelling of a couple of out-of-date rooms with a smoky, dirty and dark kitchen costs from \$60 per month upward. Foodstuffs and clothing are in proportion. How to balance the monthly financial sheet with those expenses and a four dollar a day wage to enter on the right side of the ledger is a problem that requires a greater economic genius than the writer possesses.

What is said of New York and the working conditions there holds equally good in regard to the Eastern metropolitan centers. Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, Cleveland, Buffalo and others are in the same class, with the possible exception that in those cities the building boom is less pronounced than in New York, but then the influx of labor is also less, so that the one balances the other.

In Boston the painters went on strike demanding fifteen cents increase an hour, from \$1.10 to \$1.25. Of course, being conducted on a strictly A. F. of L. basis, with all the other building trades working, and besides part of the painters signing up a temporary contract with their bosses for the duration of the strike, the strike was a failure. Similarly with a little strike staged by the Italian building laborers in that city.

In Worcester, Massachusetts, the slaves in the United States Steel Corporation wire mills are working ten hours a day. The wages are very low, 40 to 50 cents an hour being the limit, and the work very hard and rushed to the limit. Most of the work in the various factories in that city is being done by the piece-work method, and the slaves are lucky if they can eke out five or six dollars per day by exerting every ounce of their energy.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, is called the "Smoky City." If present conditions are to prevail it will be well to change the name. Half of the steel plants are staying idle and those in operation are working only part of the time, three or four days per week. Starvation and misery are rampant among the workers on account of the great unemployment. Cleveland, Ohio, is somewhat more fortunate, as there are quite a number of large construction jobs in operation. Besides, it was the only city encountered where the workers really made some attempt on the job to better their conditions, and also succeeded to some extent.

If one wants to study the unemployment problem in detail, it is well to drift away from the

large cities and venture out to the small industrial towns and mining centers, where the results are more apparent. Especially is this the case in the coal mining industry.

Not half of the mines in the Ohio Valley are operating, and those which do operate keep running only three or four days in the week. The miners of Martins Ferry, Tiltonville, Bellaire and Dillonville were mostly idle, and the reason offered for their idleness was that the mines in West Virginia were running full blast with scabs working 20 per cent cheaper than the union scale calls for. As a remedy the union officials in the United Mine Workers as well as the mine operators advocate that the union consent to a similar wage cut. Of course, all that can be gained by such a procedure is that the miners of West Virginia will either be laid off or else forced to work still cheaper. It is significant that the only remedy offered is to take steps towards crowding out the miners in other localities by means of underselling them; organized workers underbidding the scabs in the sale of labor power.

At Bentleyville, Pennsylvania, a mining town of approximately 3000 miners, in addition to the nickel snatchers who exist upon the miners, every mine was closed. There are ten mines in the vicinity of that town and not one of them was in operation. As the miners have been only partly employed for the last year it is needless to state that conditions among those workers is as terrible as one can possibly imagine it to be. And among those workers their union has collected, through the check-off system, 80 cents every month for union dues and one-half cent on the dollar earned to go towards organizing the miners in West Virginia. So far the United Mine Workers officials have been very prompt in collecting the dues and assessments, but they have stayed at a safe distance from West Virginia.

To all appearances the once-powerful United Mine Workers of America has dwindled down to nothing more than a company union. So far as being a power among the miners that is respected by the mine operators it amounts to nothing. It is nothing unusual to find mining operators openly violating the contracts, and when it is called to the attention of union officials their only reply is to accept what the bosses offer, as "we cannot afford any troubles with the employers at this time."

So much has been written and said about the "apathy of the workers" that the phrase has developed into an axiom by this time. Nevertheless, if one is fair, one must admit that the workers, at least in the mining industry, and I dare say in all industries, are no more apathetic today than they have been in the past, and not that much. On the contrary, one finds audiences everywhere willing to listen to any speaker who deals with industrial conditions, and the questions that are being asked and the interest displayed prove everything but

apathy. It certainly ought to be self-evident that millions of workers, thrown out of employment and on the verge of starvation or actually starving, can not be disinterested in questions pertaining to their own material welfare. The reason for their present deplorable condition is to be sought rather in the form of organization under which they have fought in the past, than in some peculiar psychological disposition among those workers.

For years those workers who are today members of the old form of craft unions, or influenced by them, have been so used to finding some particular individual taking charge of their mutual affairs that they have lost all confidence in themselves. To them a "union" means an institution to which they pay dues and from which they expect some particular official to come and straighten out their difficulties. In the early days when the A. F. of L. still had many sincere and devoted officials who really urged the membership onward to better conditions in life through their organized strength and their ability to fight for such betterments, those officials gained confidence and accumulated a great reputation for being "great labor leaders." The successes or failures of the local have been either credited or debited to the individual in office. Usually the debit was wiped out providing the official in question was sufficiently smooth-tongued to talk it away.

However, the officialdom in the A. F. of L. has deteriorated to the lowest stage possible. Graft and greed are the dominating factors, and the welfare of the membership plays no part whatsoever in their calculations. One finds officials in the United Mine Workers of America who are shareholders in the mines where their constituents are working; the major part of them are obviously bribed by the mining operators; their expense sheets show conclusively that they are living on a standard much closer to the one enjoyed by the mining operators than by the men they are supposed to represent. In my travel I ran across one case where a worker paid a \$300 initiation fee to join a certain international, and when told that even at that "the books were closed" he was asked to contribute \$500 in bribe to the officials in charge to get him in the union. "It is not much as we are nine to divide it," he was told. Under such conditions, is it any wonder that the unions lose their strikes? As the matter stands today in the whole A. F. of L. we find that every time the union wins its officials lose and vice versa. As a result the unions always lose, thanks to the actions of their officials.

This state of affairs is clearly understood by followers of the various new creeds operating among the craft unions. In fact the whole program of the Trade Union Educational League is built upon those facts. As the members are fairly well aware of those facts they gladly listen to any and all criticism of the officials and thoughtlessly adopt the

(Continued on Page Forty-Eight)

ELECTRICITY

By T-BONE SLIM

JUICE is stranger than friction.

A friendly stranger is half as strange as a strange friend.

The world's champion friend has 198 friends—two, former friends—are no more.

China has 440,000,000 opportunities for a man looking for friends.

The thinning out of the Chinese, in favor of western civilinsanity, has started in earnest—earnfest—to enslave the rest.

The idea is to get the 440,000,000 Chinamen to support the world—an impossibility without thinning them out, and impossible after.

China industrialized will number about 200,000,000 workers, and will be able to do much of Europe's manufacturing, when not conducting an engagement with rice and chop-suey—and, when Europe's unemployed hold extraordinary sessions with soup and petrified biscuits.

Europe's civilinsanity, too, will feel safer after China is deflated: remember how rosy the school girl complexion of "our" capitalism got after labor was deflated, 1920—?

But, (note this) they do not deflate labor in America any more—they use a stomach-pump: they grab a man in the street, full of compulsory temperance, rush him to a hospital, and pump the constitutional sobriety out of him.

Sometimes they save the man. Good! Bravo! But, **neverthelittle**, prohibition has killed more men than we lost in the last war—this is not favoring war nor prohibition—prohibition is the worst stuff I ever drank.

I would not mention it if it wasn't a thinning-out process—why carry on war when—when you can give the victims wood alcohol, hair oil, chloral and torso-ointment—?

If you want to thin 'em faster, re-introduce saloons, legalize moonshine and denatured "gas."

Not much prohibitionary stimulant is being guzzled—little is SO effective, and SO cheap. Really, prohibition seems like a concession to the mounting gas bills—with what would you buy a radio if the people were allowed to spend the money for liquor? Only saloon-keepers would have Fords and "Neitherdynes."

Leaving all jokes aside, I would rather listen to a radio than a drunk, yes I would—as much as the **pufformers** stagger in their igloo—Sixon—but I would rather be half shot while doing it, yes I would.

How helpless we Americans are. Law tells us when to work, what to eat, what to drink, what to chew and smoke, where and when to sleep; tells us what to think; tells us where to live; tells us when to die—where would we be without law? What would we do? It tells us not to celebrate our Independence with Chinese fire-crackers.

I suggest—patriotically suggest—that we loan our laws to China, just as soon as we can spare them.

Another thing in our favor is cheap food. It's really astounding!

You can get two spoonfuls of oats and a tube of milk for 10 cents—everybody, too, seems to have a dime—ah, may the dimes never grow extinct!

I stood by the cashier's desk and watched the breakfast customers pay their bills. Here is what the register registered: 10, 15, 10, 05, 05, 10, 10, 10, 10, 05, 10, 20, 10, 10—I wonder where all that money is coming from.—A hundred years from now they'll celebrate this prosperity and Coolidge—the one-man PROSPERITY.

The Road To Autocracy



By HUBERT LANGEROCK



NOTE: This is the second article of a series aiming to prove how the necessities of trusted production are, under our very eyes, leading to a transformation of the institutions of present day society from a political democracy into an oligarchy of capitalistic magnates consistently developing autocratic methods of government while the institutions of political democracy are left in existence in the shape of an empty shell with the purpose of deceiving the ignorant and the gullible.

The first article of this series appeared in the May Day issue of Industrial Solidarity under the title: "If You Don't Like 'Em, Vag 'Em." The next article will appear in the next issue of the Pioneer and deal with "Government by Injunction."

II.

Much of what has been said about the abuse of the vagrancy law could be repeated about the thousands of prosecutions for disorderly conduct which crowd the dockets of the lower courts. Again it will be throwing the crude light of common sense upon the subject, if we go back to the fundamental notion of a guilty act. In order that there may exist a punishable offense, there must be present at the same time a material deed and an anti-social intent.

It is a matter of common knowledge that these elements are not present in the vast majority of disorderly conduct cases. The material deed is there but the anti-social intention is generally lacking. The anti-social character of an act is not a matter of fact but a question of appreciation and that appreciation generally rests with the police. Thus it came about that many people have been and still are found guilty of disorderly conduct for the commission of deeds of which the police happen to

disapprove without having a legal right to stop them or a law on which they can fall back to obtain a direct conviction based upon the principle of lawful repression or prevention.

The interpretation of a certain act as disorderly is purely a matter of arbitrary appreciation. There is not in existence any kind of a fixed standard by which a judge may be guided in administering the law. Disorderly conduct covers anything and everything which the arresting officer chooses to label in this manner and when the hearing in court takes place a conviction is secured not on the basis of what has actually taken place but on the strength of what is not stated in open court or made part of the record and has been whispered into the ear of the judge or brought to his knowledge by devious methods which leave the defendant without any real opportunity to defend himself properly because he is generally not aware of the nature of the real charges held against him.

The law books and law journals are full of decisions in matters of disorderly conduct which are so opposed to every notion of justice and fair play that they would reach the domain of ridicule if one was able to forget that those legal vagaries are gambles for which the life and liberty of the down-trodden class generally provide the stakes.

I want to quote a few instances to illustrate that statement.

Pawns For the Law Game

Recently the owner of an automobile was brought into court on a charge of disorderly conduct because a policeman objected to the sound of the horn on the man's car. The owner claimed to possess as good or even a better musical ear than the complaining officer and stated that he liked the sound. Nevertheless, he was convicted.

In another case a man stood in front of a bar talking to a few acquaintances. The complaining officer admitted that he was talking in an average tone of voice, not loud at all. The man was giving his opinion of the police and stated about half as much as can be read any day in thousands of books, newspapers and magazines. He was arrested, placed in jail, held incommunicado for five days, and when the police, after a laborious investigation, were unable to place any kind of a charge against him, he was brought to court under a complaint of disorderly conduct, and convicted.

Now, the main point which I want to bring out is that these actions of the police are not vagaries of stupid individuals intoxicated with the possession of a certain amount of restraining power of which they are not deserving either by their personality or their character, but deliberate acts which find the reason for their existence in the class struggle.

The following instance will illustrate this general statement. In this case, the defendant was an employee working under a woman boss. In the course of his employment an argument arose upon a matter connected with the work in hand. The employee had the better of the argument whereupon the woman, in a fit of anger, charged her subordinate with disorderly conduct. The latter happened to be a foreigner and the judge handed him a severe sentence and lectured him upon the respect due to an American woman. The case went to the superior court on appeal. On the witness stand the lady straw-boss admitted that there had been no loud talking, no bad language, nothing beyond a somewhat acrid conversation. The defendant established that on the technicalities of the question in dispute, he was right and the woman wrong. Since there were no witnesses, the court had to dismiss the case.

It is only too evident that the judges who lend themselves to such inconsiderate judgments are no judges at all. For them the facts of the case have not the slightest importance. What really matters with them are the things which are understood but not mentioned. The performance in court is a joke, a kind of ritual through which the parties

to suit go mechanically, the real matter at issue, the reason which causes the sentence is never stated.

If this is the case, where is the difference between such a performance and the methods of an out-and-out autocracy where sentence is pronounced without trial? What is the practical value and the real tangible significance of that day in court which so many uncritical people consider as one of the fundamentals of Anglo-Saxon liberty?

The autocracy and bureaucracy which trustified capitalism is slowly building up within the shell of a pretendedly democratic government reduced to the status of camouflage evinces first of all a thoroughly hypocritical character. It proceeds by indirection. It is too cowardly or too clever to make a frontal attack upon the beloved commonplaces of the ignorant mass and prefers to punish unpunishable opinion under the pretext of technical crimes.

"Justice" Applied to Unions

After the war was over, the Lever Act, a war measure, was used to prevent the coal miners from striking.

A few years ago, when the officials of the Structural Iron Workers were brought to trial, they were not prosecuted for blowing up jobs on which scab labor was employed. They were accused of transporting explosives on passenger trains from one state to another but, in the course of the trial, nearly all the testimony offered had no reference to the crime with which they were charged. It referred to the explosions of which they were not accused and for which they were not on trial. One of the consequences of such an underhand method of framing social rebels is the lack of proportion between the penalty imposed and the technical offense charged, proving once more that the conviction was brought about in a roundabout way and aimed to punish for crimes not mentioned in the indictment.

Such a treacherous method is pregnant with untold possibilities. During the war, second class mailing privileges were withdrawn from a magazine on the ground that it had spoken disrespectfully of Samuel Gompers. About the same time Thorstein Veblen's book on Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution was barred from the mails although it had been issued in 1915.

Most of the war legislation is still on the statute books and capitalism may be relied upon not to overlook the fact that, let us say, a petty struggle with some diminutive Central American republic would provide an opportunity to deal a smashing blow to every form of revolutionary thought by a resurrection of all the restrictive legislation enacted during the last emergency for the suppression of discordant opinions.

The pious camouflage of free press still stands but what are, in reality, the facts? There may not have been recently any outright suppression of working class papers, but the post office is still empowered by law to deny transportation in the mails

at second class rates to any opinions of which it does not approve and, under the benefit of that rule, it maintains a censorship of ideas and principles which Congress would not dare to translate into a direct law. To commit the liberties of the citizen to the mercy of a political appointive officer, like the postmaster-general, is worse than entrusting them to a mob, because it is safeguarding tyranny by law.

"Pay Streak for Reaction"

The growing capitalist autocracy is under the impression that the indirect punishment of socially discordant elements by underhand methods constitutes a regular pay streak for reactionary purposes and it is daily inventing new variations of this primary theme. Some of the most recent ones deserve to be mentioned with some details.

The first one of these up-to-date tricks consists in dragging an obnoxious individual away from his place of residence where it is questionable if a conviction could be secured, to an out of the way locality where an ignorant or supine jury can be easily secured which is willing to convict at the behest of the district attorney.

Those who may have followed closely the criminal syndicalism trials in California are familiar with the type of jury which will convict when the master class cracks the whip. The question at issue, in a criminal syndicalism case, is always whether or not the I. W. W., as an organization, is committed to the methods of physical violence whose presence the law considers as the character of criminal syndicalism. It is a matter of descriptive sociology. The task of the defendant is practically identical to that of a college professor lecturing to his class in economics. If, at that particular moment, one takes a look at the men in the jury box, he is convinced by the empty stare on their faces that they do not understand. Those men picked from the four corners of a cow-county, or a backwoods district have never heard of any of the many points covered in the argument of the defense. They are men of the soil or from some small shop or store and vague echoes of the industrial conflict have seldom reached their lonesome dwellings. They lack every form of preparation for the understanding of a plea which marshals arguments borrowed from economics, sociology and social psychology. The look on their faces is a confession that they are unfit for the task which they are performing.

How Wobblies Are Convicted

Up gets the district attorney. They know him, he belongs to their lodge or to their church. Their votes have put him in office. He is their neighbor. He leans over the rail of the jury box and talks to

them in a familiar way like an old woman gossiping over a back fence and then he steps back two paces, draws a deep breath and winds up his speech with a re-hash of his last Fourth of July oration. He wins, he gets a conviction and yet, he has not even tried to bring a shred of relevant proof.

In order to drag a man from an industrial center where a conviction would be harder to secure, to a hole in the ground where the product of many cumulative atavisms can be readily swung by a mixture of intellectual crookedness and local clannishness, a brand new device is at hand. It is known as constructive crime.

In our poor workaday world one has done something or he has not done it. The make-believe world of lawmakers and jurists has improved upon that simple situation. It has created constructive crime which is a hocus-pocus under which you have done something when you have not done it.

Here is the way it works. If they want to secure a conviction against a certain individual in some rotten borough of their own choice, in spite of the fact that that person has never set foot in that particular neck of the woods, all they have to do is to maintain that he was there constructively, which puts him in a position of having been where he has not been.

It is the easiest thing in the world. The man is probably an official of an organization which may count a hundred thousand members or more and employ a score of organizers. One of the latter may have passed through the isolated district where it is thought easy to secure a conviction. He is arrested and brought to trial and with his own case is connected that of the man whom they intend to reach. As an official of his organization, he is the arrested man's employer and that makes him constructively present with his employee. Thus the stage is set for extradition proceedings and a citizen is made to face a prejudiced jury in a hostile community. The result is obvious, vindictive capitalism lands its man.

No unprejudiced onlooker will dignify such proceedings with the name of justice. It is parody or vaudeville or anything you feel like calling it and even the individuals who benefit by such warped trials must, in the intimacy of their conscience, if they have one, admit to themselves that the whole performance is a joke staged for the special benefit of the benighted ones who lack class consciousness and may, in their simplicity of mind, be led to consider class revenge as the logical application of a just and equitable law.

Any man who is not blinded by the bias of his class interests will readily admit that punishment of social rebels by the arbitrary methods of an avowed autocracy would not be different as to results and a good deal more honest as to method.



Book and Motion Picture Reviews

JAMES BRANCH CABELL continued his allegorical, philosophical rambling in *Straws and Prayer Books*, but the book is sure to disappoint those folk who are thoroughly disgusted with this Summerized America and who smacked their lips over Jurgens' amours. Because the latest book calls for no Sumner on the run, and had the author resorted always to such literary advertising of his own wares and those of his friends I am sure that his name would never have been placed in the Puritan pillory by the elements of our Babbitteria who regret that Flaubert did not die at the stake, that De Maupassant was not crucified and that M. Anatole France passed out of his quietly chuckling life in the peace of a bedroom.

Between the elegant advertising and the verbiage—Cabell has a matchless verbosity, previously unsurpassed in H. G. Wells—you gather that the author is insistent that the literary artist is not primarily concerned with making money, or with pleasing his friends or displeasing them, for that matter. He is moved to write for his own amusement, his own diversion. Perhaps that is why there are so many half-starved writers, whose number we can but guess at because they have no patron saints in publishers. But why anyone should write several hundred pages on that foundation is as unjustifiable as that ninety-nine and nine-tenths per cent books are written at all.

Cabell has a pretty way of saying things, and yet he can be quite coarse, not that our epidermis is too thin, but that of the ladies certainly must be when he describes them as perambulating graves for slaughtered kine, swine and sheep for all their veneer of refinement. Their hostility may not stand up when they recall *Jurgens*, and whatever they feel about the matter it must more than be made up to Cabell by his literary buddies, whose "stock he has nicely boosted."

For those who are carried away from perception of reality of the whole by the brilliancy of certain passages the advertising stunt may not become apparent, and the book cannot suffer in this respect so far as they are concerned.

Altogether a book with little meat, a number of playful thoughts about death, some flowers, and the recurrent tributes to his friends (who also sell their MSS. to publishers) which I insist upon calling elegantly contrived advertisements.--Thos. Senn.

STRAWS AND PRAYER BOOKS, by James Branch Cabell. Robert McBride and Co., New York. Price \$2.50.

AUGUST, 1925

AFTER reading "The Causes of Industrial Unrest," by John A. Fitch, my impression was that he analyzes carefully as far as he probes, and that he cherishes an eminent desire to be perfectly fair. The first sentences of his opening chapter run: "The term 'industrial unrest' is used here in the sense in which it is generally understood, referring to dissatisfaction on the part of the workers, rather than on the part of the employer. This is because the struggle between the two parties that grows out of the feeling of unrest is generally, though not always, precipitated by the workers. Strikes are overwhelmingly more frequent than lockouts. Labor seems to be the aggressor in the struggle. It is battering at the employer's defenses, seeking a change in the *status quo*. The employer is generally on the defensive, since he either desires no change in conditions or he favors a revision downward. When the employer reduces wages or increases hours, he is really the aggressor, but he does not appear to be, because he does not attract attention unless the workers protest. . . . However, the majority of the strikes are for improvement in their conditions instead of against a reduction."

In spite of this percipience and his arraignment of capitalists for their almost universal reprehension of collective bargaining, for their employment of spies in factory and union, and for their using courts and other governmental branches against workers, Mr. Fitch's conclusions smack of class collaboration, and one gathers that he would not view an extension of Civic Federation influence as incompatible with the will of the workers for an improvement in their conditions.

The concluding chapter is synthetic and the author divides society into the working and employing classes and the public. All have rights, he contends, and the harmonious relations of the first two insure the wellbeing of the last. A summary of this sort exhibits a woeful lack of understanding of the nature of wealth creation in connection with its ethical aspects, by one who stresses moral considerations. Profits in the Marxian analysis are surplus values, and surplus values are extractions by capitalists from workers through the capitalist ownership of the means of life supported at all times by force—police, armies and navies, to say nothing of the later auxiliaries masquerading as fraternal or religious bodies.

This places the capitalist in the position of a robber, which he is. He is a parasite, and there is no solution to industrial unrest possible or desirable

until the capitalist is deprived of his class position. It is quite true that when a strike occurs the non-combatants are regarded as the public. But in this age of rapid means for communication, and of intense struggle for life there are no neutrals, none whose sympathies, if not actual support with resources, do not go out to one or the other of the disputants.

That employers are on the defensive is truer than Mr. Fitch probably imagines, because in the course of evolutionary development the hour is striking for the working class to assume its place of dominance and to subordinate all opposition. Social creation of great machines cannot forever exist under private ownership of these machines. Capitalism is in its death throes for all its pompous strutting. About one more world war for democracy to end war will end the bourgeoisie.

But Mr. Fitch's work reminds us of the liberal attitude, and when one sets out to look into the causes of discontent among the workers it is impossible to strike at the roots of the matter with the scratches of palliatives and the salves of reforms. The workers are discontented because they are robbed of the wealth they create. There is no change possible without their complete emancipation from wage slavery, based on their seizure of the tools of production.

The book is worth reading, having much documentary evidence and fair statements of position by various working class organizations as well as those of employers. There is a wealth of allusion showing how broad has been the author's research. And in the hands of a Marxian the same material could certainly be worked into an irrefutable indictment of the system Mr. Fitch seems unwilling to see swept aside without attempting to have patched up.

—Mary West.

THE CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL UNREST, By John A. Fitch. Harper and Brothers, New York. Price, \$3.00.

SPENCER BRODNEY'S play "Rebel Smith," is the story of an I. W. W. organizer in Australia who entered voluntary retirement from activity due to a sense of hopelessness induced by observing proletarian apathy. Laboring on a farm in the back-country he makes frequent trips to a nearby public house where he is regarded as a disreputable character. The proprietor is a supporter of the treacherous labor party government and Rebel Smith is known as a brainy agitator for the One Big Union. At first the proprietor's daughter, who is a bar-maid, refuses to have anything to say to Smith, except quips of an abusive kind, but he manages at last to engage her in conversation and to make her catch the first glimmerings of class consciousness by showing her how both of them are victims of social conditions, of capitalism which makes them slaves.

Smith's employer was to have married Kitty, but

she is awakening to a realization of what a dreary, bestial existence awaits her if she joins him, and the agitator confirms her convictions. Thereupon she begins to see Smith's possibilities, which are materially slender, but he is good looking and young and he speaks well. When an ex-Wobbly who sold out to get into the labor party government offers Smith a lucrative post, Kitty wants him to jump at it. He is taunted by his employer about Kitty. Smith has just quit him. The farmer tells Smith he can have "his leavings." Smith then takes his challenge and says he will marry Kitty, and in order to do so he accepts the offer from the politician. Later he reverses his position and says he will not be a rat.

He leaves Kitty, feeling that he is unable to compromise and to attach a wife to his meager baggage. Then he goes away to become active once more in disseminating the philosophy of revolutionary industrial unionism, which will make it possible for men and women in economic security to live natural lives.

Kitty's parents wanted her married and they were inspired by the economic urge, as was Kitty herself. Love was a minor note in their considerations, just as it is in most marriages.

When the third act ends the play Kitty is sitting in a depressed mental state and Smith has gone. It is just one more of the tragedies of modern society, told in a simple manner.

—Lewis Enright.

REBEL SMITH. By Spencer Brodney. Published by Siebel Publishing Company, 32 W. 20th St., New York. Price \$1.60.

THE novel *Quo Vadis* was a short time ago made into a moving picture by some Italian film company, and posters announcing it teased my curiosity enough to make me go in and see what it looked like. I was about ten or eleven years old when I read the novel the first time, and I attempted unsuccessfully to read it a second time at a more mature age but my interest flagged so much that I never succeeded in finishing the second reading.

The impression the novel made upon me was that it seemed especially adapted for exciting the emotions of adolescent children, sentimental unmarried females, Y. M. C. A. secretaries, Babbitts and other creatures unable to assimilate strong and healthy mental food. It is a Polish counterpart to *Ben Hur*, but written by a better craftsman.

Its author, Henryk Sienkiewicz, has written a wagonload of moralistic and nationalistic novels of which I have only succeeded in plowing by way through one called "Without Dogmas." In this novel the author has been diluting Dostoevski's themes of gigantic sins and absorbing penitence to such an extent that they will be acceptable and understandable to the class of readers that I mentioned above.

The author is showing his literary preferences

in it. They are Octave Feuillet, the most saccharine author in French literature, who spent his life describing heroes that resembled the sickly fantasies of a Sunday school superintendent and judiciously punishes each misdemeanor recorded in his novels before he lays away the pen.

Sienkiewich shows his sagacity and knowledge of sociological problems by denying the validity of Darwin's theories and on the same page using them for proving that the capitalist system is the best possible and the only possible.

When we remember that Poland has been raving about liberty and Russian oppression for a couple of hundred years and is now using its "national independence" to institute a white terror every bit as bad as the tsarist regime, we may understand why Sienkiewich has been acclaimed the interpreter of the Polish "national spirit."

The moving picture is naturally going its prototype one better. It is of one cloth with all other moving pictures. Same trash, to put it short and sweet. For a student of history it is full of all kinds of "discoveries."

He finds out through the subtitles that the Christians were opposed to property and militarism and will be sitting wondering why it is that people having the same beliefs are persecuted in Christian countries today.

It is rather hard to be excited about the atrocities committed against the Christians on the screen, when one remembers that they in turn committed the same atrocities against the heathens and heretics when they had the big stick in their hand.

It struck me as a rather curious piece of mob psychology that the spectators were sitting through the various atrocities only showing a rather mild interest until it was the turn of the heroine. While it apparently was considered right and proper that a few thousand Christians should be tortured to death in accordance with the teachings of standard textbooks of Roman history, it seemed like anything interfering with the hero and the heroine getting married and living happily ever after would be a grave breach of moving picture etiquette and morals.

In the beginning I was tempted to ascribe the weak impression the picture made on me to a godless skepticism and sophistication on my part, but later on I noticed that I was not the only one that laughed at the wrong places, that, in fact, most of the public seemed in the same sacrilegious mood of levity, as myself.

The acting seemed rather colorless at times and at other times downright idiotic. It seems as though moving picture acting resolves itself into a few stencils that can be used at all occasions, when judiciously selected: anger by frowning heavily and shaking the fist; fear by rolling the eyes and performing motions like a shimmy done by a victim of St. Vitus dance, etc.

The actor performing the role of Nero seemed to have the making of a good fat man comedian in him. But as there were no slapsticks and custard pies in the picture he was handicapped in exploiting his possibilities in that direction.

—Kristen Svanum.



Education Shall be Free

By COVINGTON AMJ

Hear me, all ye Fundamentalists, ye Legions and ye Klans,
The truth shall go to Labor in defiance of your bans!
In spite of all the Usurers, the Great Ghouls of the earth,
In spite of all the Hirelings their gold has given birth;
In spite of Press and Parliament, of armies, courts and laws,
The truth shall be full spoken in Science's holy cause!
The youth of Toil shall hear it—the Word that sets men free—
All-conquering, invincible, through land and air and sea,
Its message shall be cried aloud, or else in whispers blown,
Through all the censored Continents till all the facts are known!
Yea! till Education's halls are freed of all the myths that blight
The flowering of the spirit and the dawning of the light,
And till Truth shall stand triumphant on the dead Lie's shattered laws,
The Word shall be full spoken in Science's holy cause!

A Militarizing Phase of Imperialism

By JACK BRADEN

Past President of World War Veterans, Who Picketed the White House for Release of Class War Prisoners

For the present purpose, it is not a pressing need to trace the general path traveled by American capitalism to its present dominant imperialistic world position. Be it deemed sufficient merely to say here that imperialism, as any other epoch of society, is given birth to and mirrors certain definite economic and political pressure, gains momentum or weakens in accordance with its form and intensity.

In this regard, in its present stage of development, we find American capitalism confronted with a multitude of unprecented, course-determining factors: keener competitive commercial expansion—the very life-blood of modern imperialism. Protection of investments in foreign countries, which must be increased if the enormous accumulations of finance capital are not to remain idle, and are to bring the expected profits. It is faced with the necessity of propping up tottering capitalist governments so as to enable safe exploitation of their workers, resources and markets.

By the very nature of its well developed capitalistic competitive system, and in obedience to the command of evolution, "Forward!"—it must forge ahead, and increase its holdings and widen its influence. It cannot turn back, nor stand still! It resorts to all means to keep open the road of its ever onward speeding chariot.

The many obstacles in its path must be removed, but, above all, it must subdue its natural enemy, the working class, whose development parallel to capitalism has taught it many a bitter experience—ruthless expropriation, unemployment, injunctions, and war. As a result, this working class, as yet, is in a hazy uncertain sort of way, but still, it speaks of a labor party, governmental ownership of industry, abolition of judicial powers, injunctions and wars, and its left wing, though still pitifully limited, both numerically and influentially, already thinks and speaks in terms of civil war—the overthrow of capitalism.

American capitalism is comprehendingly aware of these apparently indistinct and seemingly distant potentialities, that are foretold in the symptoms of awakening of the American working class, corroborated so glaringly by the meaningful occurrences of our own times, in front of our very noses, so to speak, such as, the Russian revolution on the one hand and its temporary antidote, the Hungarian, Italian, Bavarian, and other white dictatorships on the other hand. It is these experiences that lend immeasurable support to the already irrefutable fact that a bayonet on either side of the class struggle is equally achieving.

American capitalism, having assimilated the lessons of many past and particularly more recent experiences, both at home and internationally, is more firmly than ever persuaded that a "reliable" army

and navy of proper size and proportions is the most convincing language in its international dealings and that a "dependable" company of infantry will break a strike where a bushel of injunctions fail.

So, quite naturally and not illogically, American capitalism, in adaptation to changing conditions and its own new role (so outstandingly proven by its increasing prestige, as seen by current international political and commercial events, in which it is a dominant participant, and the undercurrent among the exploited against its rule in its colonies and at home) is proceeding in a cautious, systematic manner to shed its age-long cloak of "democracy and civil rights" and is diligently and shrewdly pushing to the fore the idea of militarization.

It is compelled to pursue this course to meet the indispensability of keeping its military arm abreast of its commercial and political stride—at home and internationally. In a word, the symptoms that announce the blending of capitalism into what we may justifiably term its summit, at the same time its greatest danger point of development, namely, imperialism, is marked not only by its increased prestige and holdings, commercial dominance and political forwardness, but also, by its far-fetched militarization program, and by the latter, proportionately speaking, even more than by any other single factor.

It is this, its military phase, that is of concern here, careful scrutiny and understanding of which ought greatly to influence the timeliness and manner in which we approach and deal with this question.

On occasions the radical and pacifistically inclined liberal press has called attention to the numerical increase of the armed forces since the pre-war period. It seems unnecessary, therefore, to dwell on that point. Instead let us focus our attention upon the militarizing schemes employed. All sorts of psychological trickery, rules and regulations are introduced tending to imperialize not only the standing armed forces, but also the various sections of the population, in accordance with their potential military role and importance.

Some of the methods used appear insignificant on the surface and easily escape attention. But we must not be unaware of the fact that capitalism voluntarily introduces ideas only when beneficial to it—particularly upon fields of operation where it

A TRIPLE ALLIANCE



enjoys unchallenged full sway, as is the case with its armed forces and to a somewhat lesser degree, with its conscious and unconscious militarization agencies among the population.

Prussianizing the Army

Of the many changes that have taken place in the army since the war—purposed to swing it into step with the economic and political imperialization of American capital, two will be pointed to for the purpose of exemplifying their seeming insignificance on the one hand, and their effectiveness on the other, as well as to stimulate alertness upon the activity of the imperialist on this field.

About two years ago in place of a dark blunt and rather unattractive button and insignia formerly worn by the soldier, bright shiny paraphernalia was introduced. This substitution was accompanied by a general improvement in the appearance of the soldier. For instance, instead of issuing ill-fitting, ready-made uniforms, post tailor shops were instituted which now fit the soldier with a uniform at the small cost of thirteen fifty, etc., etc.

Before going further let us examine the effect of

a seemingly harmless brass button, the value of which must among other things be correctly appraised as a prerequisite to any effective opposition to the aims of the imperialists.

The soldier's own improved appearance greatly impresses him as being an outstanding chosen defender of the government, as something apart, and having little or nothing in common with the civilian. The more conspicuously the soldier is separated from the civilian in appearance, the wider is the gap between them, from the soldier's viewpoint.

The admiring glances directed at the spick and span brass button soldier by the citizenry generally and woman particularly, serve to emphasize the gap in his relationship to the civilian. This, indeed, is a very desirable feather in the hat of the militarist who understands well that the soldier must not suspect himself of being part of, or as having any sameness of interest with the civilian. Such a concept on the part of the soldier may cause him to hesitate when an order to shoot at the civilian is given (one of the chief reasons that the soldier is forbidden to vote, or participate politi-



WAR STRIKES AGAINST THESE.

cally with the civilian is to keep the two from mingling, and thereby recognizing or establishing some commonness of interest.)

The citizen does not escape the effect of the shiny button. He instinctively couples the glare of the uniform with the efficiency of the army. It gives him a proud feeling of ownership, and aids to dispel such inclinations that he may have against the appropriations for maintenance and extension of the armed forces. (Talk to the average citizen on the side lines of a military parade, and you will inevitably find that the appearance of the paraders ha a molding effect upon the opinions of the spectator.)

Another and more directly accomplishing effect of the brass button and its accompanying regalia is its influence upon the young man. A shiny button makes a splendid recruiting agent! True, some are driven into the armed forces by adverse economic periods. But this number is small. It is the adventurous, and not necessarily patriotic young

man attracted by the glitter of brass and the uniform, who make up the bulk of the army, navy and national guard. So, despite its seeming unimportance, even a brass button is introduced with a purpose and proves its worth.

The Army's New Pay Adjustment and Its Effect

The following partial table, though roughly prepared, will serve the purpose of showing the reduction made in the private's pay on the one hand, and the increase of the non-commissioned officer's pay on the other, creating an unprecedented gap in the compensation of the two.

MONTHLY BASE PAY (Base pay excludes any of the "extra" pay, such as re-enlistment, qualification of gunnery or marksmanship, foreign service, etc.):

	1st Class		1st	
	Private	Private Corp.	Serg't	Seg't
Pre-War	\$15.00	\$18.00	\$21.00	\$30.00
During war up to 1922	30.00	33.00	36.00	38.00
Present	21.00	30.00	42.00	54.00

The above pay adjustment is not an accident. It is based upon the experiences of different European and other armies, during various social manifestations, and is designed to serve certain definite ends. As will be seen, it prepares a foundation for maintenance of discipline under tense military operations, which apparently the militarist expects.

The pay arrangement provides a great temptation to the private to rise above his rank. It stimulates keener competition between privates for promotion and so serves to improve the efficiency and obedience of the soldier. As individuals, out of formation, it estranges private from private, since in the race for promotion one private is attempting to outdo the other.

Promotion of the private to a corporal in addition to doubling his pay, and dignifying and lightening his work, magnifies his status not only to the soldiers about him, but also to the civilian whom he chances upon, but above all to the ladies (the weakness for favoritism and admiration from woman is more prevalent among men who live the life of a soldier, sailor, lumberjack, etc., than among men whose daily pursuits make for continuous contact with the opposite sex. This feature of promotion is usually underrated, but nevertheless plays an important part. The writer's ten years of military service and consequent contact with the innermost confidences of the soldier is responsible for the expressions as to the soldier's feeling in the several matters touched upon here.)

The non-commissioned officer, due to his increased pay and accompanying importance, becomes more determined to keep his rank; the private who has been animated with added temptation for promotion becomes a serious bidder for the former's job, and is viewed by the non-commissioned officer as a pressing and quite dangerous competitor. This breaks up much the closeness that has formerly

existed between private and non-commissioned officer. In consequence, many misdeeds of the private that have formerly been overlooked by the non-commissioned officer are promptly dealt with, or reported to a superior. The breach thus created between non-commissioned officer and private, and between private and private, is of great significance, because it makes impossible, or at best highly difficult, any sort of organized mutinous action.

The non-commissioned officer is considered the backbone of an army. Napoleon popularized this belief, the soundness of which is accepted by militarists universally. There was only one thing wrong with this "backbone"—it was closer to, and more confidential with the private than the commissioned officer. The recent pay adjustment creates a necessary gap between the private and non-commissioned officer, and thereby brings the latter closer to the officers, who in the eyes of the rulers are the most loyal element in the military service. The trust placed in the commissioned officer is easily explained by the fact that the overwhelming majority of the officers are chosen from a social stratum which is well satisfied with things as they are, because of its favorable economic and social status.

Upon being commissioned an officer in the armed forces these "proper minded" men are further influenced in the "right" direction by the caste system that has been developed within the armed forces. Their income, environment, and life generally make for loyalty to those whom they serve. It will readily be seen then how much more desirable it is to the militarist to maintain a breach between the private and non-commissioned officer than between the non-commissioned and commissioned officer, particularly when we are mindful of the fact that the privates by themselves, due to training, are pretty much of a "headless body", but in alliance with the non-commissioned officer they become units quite capable of operation on a moderate scale, and in cases even on a large scale, quite independent of officers.

Having given some consideration to the pay adjustment and its influence upon the morale of the army, we reasonably reach the conclusion: that deliberate, open-eyed preparations are being made by the militarists to so fortify the morale and discipline of the armed forces as to enable the handling of those forces, not only in such operations as will have been seemingly approved by the population, but also in such actions as may be antagonistic to the civilian, or even unpopular with the soldier himself.

In a word, the armed forces are being prepared to meet the dangers that may threaten the imperialization program of the American dollar, both at home and on foreign soil.

Militarizing the Population

To weaken the anti-militarization sentiment of that part of the population whose collective moral wound, inflicted in the last war, has not yet healed, the militarists employ ingenuity of the keenest or-

der. An example of two of the methods used, it is hoped, will provide a searchlight, which if used, enlarged upon and adequately supplemented by the true anti-imperialists, will eventually expose to the full view of the working class of the country the manipulations of our imperialist rulers, who are ever ready to sacrifice countless millions of the working class on the altar of dollars.

The imperialist is not slow to determine which of his agencies among the population is most effective in the performance of a given task. The ex-service men organizations are a very useful implement with which to popularize among the population given programs of the war department. Their frequent method of procedure is as follows: At a national convention of the American Legion the military affairs committee makes a report and recommendations in accordance with the will of the war department. The convention, of course, accepts these recommendations along with other recommendations and resolutions reported upon by various other committees.

The convention adjourns, the delegates return to their homes, sober up and read in the official organ of the Legion the complete program accepted by the convention. They find among the resolutions accepted such that provide for the care of the disabled, of orphans, etc. These resolutions are commendable, but wedged in between them is also a resolution that the Legion endorses wholeheartedly "Defense Day," or citizens' military training camps, military drill in schools, extension of the armed forces, etc. The members of the Legion are informed of those convention mandates not only in the Legion press, but also in the general press which makes a great splash in support of the convention's doings. Even if some member of the organization is not keen for the militarization resolution, he views it as part of the Legion's program, and being a good loyal member of his organization he supports the entire program even though some feature of it displeases him. This displeasure is soon dispelled by the speeches that he hears in his local post by this or that reserve colonel, retired admiral or national guard major who are aptly assisted by spokesmen from the civic and commerce associations and the local press.

The effectiveness of the Legion to popularize militarization lies in the fact that an ex-service man is considered an authority on military matters by non-service people. It is necessary, therefore, properly to persuade the ex-service man that a defense day is the proper thing to have, so as to make of him its proponent in his daily contact with others.

In addition to the ex-service man's authority outweighing that of the civilian on a military matter, he is well equipped by the Legion press and patriotic speeches to make an argumentative, emotional appeal to his listeners. The most frequently used arguments are, "that war has always been, and therefore will always be." Why not then be prepared for it and keep down the losses to a "minimum"?



WORKING CLASS MISERY IS GUARANTEED BY
BAYONETS; MILITARISM IS THE ARCH-FOE
OF MOTHERHOOD.

"That if we had been adequately prepared for the last war there would not be so many 'little white crosses' in Flanders Field."

The above arguments sound logical to the average mind, and make of it either a proponent of militarization, or blunt its opposition to the point of passiveness. The program of the war department is thus carried out by many unsuspecting, but effective ex-service men, who look upon militarization programs as their very own. Did not their own convention sponsor them?

The militarist's use of the Legion as a legislative whip is of importance. Due to the imperialistic use of the Legion's political pressure, many votes for measures of militarization are cast in legislative halls, contrary to the conviction of the legislator. It usually works along the following lines: the federal or state legislator is informed of the legislation wanted by the Legion in accordance with its past or "future" convention mandates. The legislator knows that to vote contrary to the Legion's program is to face its opposition in his re-election. So, aside from few exceptions, most take the road of least resistance and vote as desired by the Legion.

The above procedure enables the war department to influence militarization legislation in a most indirect blindfolding manner, since to all appearances the constituency of a given legislator is responsible for his vote, rather than the pressure of the war department.

The Legion is not by any means the only ex-service man's organization through which the war

department operates. Despite the writer's activity and intimate contact with the ex-service man's movement since the war it can be said that the World War Veterans is the only ex-service man's organization that has not been an agency of the war department.

The militarist does not overlook any bets. In carrying out his program he resorts to every means at hand, as is evidenced by the fact, for instance, that even the post office stamp cancellation machines are used to advertise the citizen's military training camp. He utilizes his most effective agency, the ex-service man's organization, in a multitude of ways: the frequent parades of those organizations is of great value to him. They serve to bolster up the mob, war spirit of the paraders, who are made to feel by the applause and admiration of the spectators that, after all, their part in the war was worthwhile. They are made less opposed to doing it over again and to advise others to do the same. It aids to make of the parading ex-service man a militarization proponent at least until the next parade or patriotic speech. We have already seen that the ex-service man is considered an authority on military matters, at least in his own particular circle of non-service people. It is therefore very needful that he nurse a "favorable" opinion if he is to be an effective agency.

Those parades have a many fold effect upon the watchers on the side lines, and appear to influence each according to age and even sex. The boy in the early teens wishes that he were a bit older so as to become eligible for a uniform and to become a hero, and thus share with the other paraders the admiration of the people. The smaller boy, judging from the eagerness with which he views the parade, is undoubtedly angered at his parents for not having married and given birth to him a few years earlier so that instead of watching the parade he could be a participant and applauded as are the paraders. The school training, the movies, and general environment help, of course, to prepare the boy to be thus psychologized at the sight of military display, all of which goes for the making of future cannon-fodder. Aside from a few exceptions the woman parade watcher is emotionally subdued by the age-long weapon—the uniform. To the non-service man a parade serves to emphasize the fact that he is a follower rather than a leader in military affairs, and he is thus easily reconciled to the belief that those boys who did the fighting in the last war know best what is needed in preparedness for the next war, etc., etc.

The plans of the imperialists merrily go on unhampered. Its octopus tightens its grip upon young and old, and the enthusiastic opinion expressed by a radical or pacifist "that the war instigators cannot repeat the last slaughter" becomes meaningless. As long as there is not a united, well formulated opposition to the imperialist carried on such lines as will weaken his most effective agencies there will be no difficulty to plunge this nation into war whenever its rulers deem it desirable.

The Reserve Officers' Corp

Last year this organization reached the height of 81,706 officers of all ranks from second lieutenant up to and including two major generals. Its value lies not only in the fact that it, together with the enlisted reserve, comprises a nucleus around which an army of millions can be organized in a comparatively short time, but among other of its war and peace capabilities the reserve officers' corps is a powerful connecting link between the war department and the population.

Its militarization influence is felt in the fraternal, religious and civic life of the population. The social strata which the reserve officer belongs to, or is drawn into by his fellow officer, through clubs and so on, makes possible his appearance as a leading, honored, responsible citizen before the members of his church, fraternal organization, etc. He is thus placed in a favorable strategic position effectively to defend the plans of the war department, as well as to oppose its antagonists.

There are but few cities among whose political, industrial, church or fraternal leaders that a few reserve officers are not found. It is their conspicuousness in the various phases of community life, not unaided by their military titles, that enables them effectively to propagate militarization.

The reserve officer, in addition to his contact with and influence over great numbers of the civilian population, does his bit in the national guard. In 1924, there were five thousand three hundred and eighty-four of those officers assigned to the national guard. There, together with the national guard officers, they aid in the work of Prussianization.

The reserve officers in overwhelming numbers are members of ex-service men's organizations, in which, together with national guard officers, retired army and navy officers, they are the dominant factor, and see to it that those organizations are on the "right" path, that the desires of the war department, with which they are bound up, are sanctioned at conventions and are actively assisted with.

The reserve officers' corps, due to the combined influence of its members and its ability to sink its roots among the different groupings of the population, becomes the strongest militarization influence among, at least, the adult population.

It is the reserve officers' corps due to its contact and growing grip upon the population, and its own economic and social status and training, that becomes the greatest potential "white guard" center in this country. But this phase, to be comprehendingly conveyed, must have more space than could be given to it here.

Conclusion

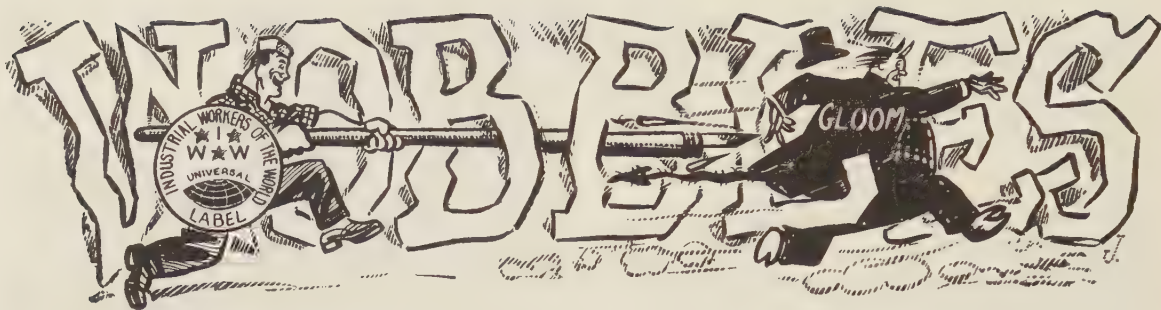
Despite the inexactness of the wording, the crudeness of formulation and coherence of this article, it is hoped that the few militarization methods cited



ONLY THE WORKERS CAN UPSET MILITARISM.

will serve to call attention to the fact that along with the economic and political imperialism of American capitalism, there goes on a relative imperialism of the armed forces. That the militarists' activity among the population is unprecedented, and that the agencies carrying on this work are smooth and effective, and therefore merit the closest scrutiny of those who recognize the necessity of challenging imperialism, both at home and in the colonies, on this field, as well as the political and economic. A close inspection of the imperialists' methods, used in the armed forces and among the population, will disclose such openings, that if taken advantage of will overshadow and defeat their intention. For instance, the pay adjustment spoken of, admirably serves certain militarization purposes. Still there is an opening; it will be noticed, that the private who does all of the "dirty" hard work, and upon whom discipline rests the most and privileges least, had his pay reduced, while those who boss him had theirs raised. It is not difficult to convince the private that he should have more pay, and that no matter how diligently all the soldiers perform their duties to increase the pay by promotion, only a limited number can be promoted, since a unit is only allowed a definite number of non-commissioned officers. The private is the material factor in the armed forces and while his attention is glued upon certain abuses of the private in connection with those imperialism schemes, the private will make himself heard, or at least felt, in such manner as greatly to hamper the plans of Prussianization.

With few exceptions there are openings in the methods of the imperialists that could be taken advantage of similarly, provided that the anti-imperialists of this country become such in deed and not merely in word.



EXECUTION ECONOMY

Abe Goldberg had shot a man and was sentenced to be electrocuted.

On the morning of the execution the warden told him how sorry he was, and how it was going to cost the state five hundred dollars to electrocute him.

"Bum business," spoke up Goldberg. "Give me fifty dollars and I'll shoot myself."

Wlw

"WHEN THE DEVIL WAS SICK"

"I'm very sorry to hear that your wife is so ill, Samuel. Not dangerous, I hope."

"Thank'ee, Miss, but she be too weak to be dangerous."

Wlw

IN ADDITION

"Organize Deaf and Dumb"—headline in Daily Worker.

My God! ain't there enuf of them already organized? What's wrong with the A. F. of L.?

Wlw

SPORT

"What is Sport? queries the Literary Digest.

Well, as near as I can get at it, it is 10,000 setters watching 10 sweaters kick or swat a ball around a stadium.—Gogetterism jazzed up and pop drunk.

Wlw

IN THE HEADLINES

"Garbage Peace Near"—headline, Kansas City Star.

That's what we always thought capitalist peace was—garbage for the workers, angelcake for the warmakers.

Wlw

A WELL-EARNED REST

"Fellow citizens," said the candidate, "I have fought against the Indians; I have often had no bed but the battlefield and no canopy but the sky. I have marched over frozen ground till every step has been marked with blood."

His story took well till a dried-up looking voter came to the front.

"I'll say you done enough for your country. Go home and rest. I'll vote for the other fellow."—
The Continent.

FRANK ADVOCACY OF THE ILLEGAL BLACKLIST

Asbestos, house organ of the Asbestos Trust, discloses the practical benefits which may accrue from shady operations conducted by employers' associations by stating, "Careful records kept on each worker, ready on call by the members of the association, do much to lessen the labor turnover. A man who knows his record is kept and can be obtained by any shop in the city, is much more careful, in the first place, to have the record clean, and in the second place he is more likely to stick to one shop instead of floating around through the different shops."

Wlw

IN A BAD PLACE

A man taken to a hospital to be mended after an accident was asked by the M. D. how he came to be hurt so seriously.

"I got between two automobiles," he replied; "one was a taxicab and the other fellow didn't care, either."

Wlw

"GOD'S VICEROY" ROBBED

News comes from the "Holy City of Rome" that "God's Viceroy," the "infallible Pope," has been robbed of "precious objects valued at more than one million lira," and that all Italy, including the atheistic leaders of the Fascisti, are frightfully shocked at the occurrence. As the thieves did their looting right in the midst of the very holiest of "holy places," St. Peter's cathedral, it is no wonder they are all shocked, for the raid clearly indicated that God was either sleeping on the job or that he doesn't care a continental about how soon his "Viceroy" is bankrupted. Personally, I believe it is the last, for I remember that in an old and forgotten book it is told that his son Jesus said to the rich young man: "Sell all thou hast, give unto the poor, and come and follow me." That's it!—God was trying to make his "Viceroy" obey the orders given him through his one, only and crucified son! Good old God! Soak him some more! He deserves it.

—Ali Baba.

Wlw

BOOST THE I. W. W. PRESS!

In The Making

By HENRY GEORGE WEISS

LUCY was young and pretty. That is, she had a slim, graceful figure, a well turned ankle, smooth, soft flesh, white teeth, dark eyes, abundant brown hair. She had taste, too, and knew how to dress. Men turned to look after her on the streets. Lucy had come up to the big town to look for a job. That is, it was a big town to Lucy. Compared to the small Kansas village it was an immense town. She had kept house for her father, a tenant farmer, until the Lord—or overwork—chose to call him hence; then with the little cash left after everything was settled, she set out to face the world. Beyond keeping house there wasn't much she could do, so she got a job waiting table in a restaurant. All the girls that waited table with her were "live ones". The boss would hire no other kind—unless they were "lookers". The town was a railroad center and pretty girls drew trade. He paid them twelve dollars a week, with meals while working. The patrons were mostly rough men or slick traveling gentlemen of the boulder type who kidded the waitresses. They weren't always particular what they said. Some of them were fathers with girls as old as Lucy, but that made no difference. At first she was indignant; but the boss wouldn't stand for disgruntled customers; and a job is a job, so she learned to take what they said with a smile, to return vile insinuations with a ready quip.

For the sake of economy Lucy and another girl roomed together. Her roommate was a country girl too. Her name was Marie. Like Lucy she was an orphan. The two girls had much in common. For both it was a maiden essay into the world beyond home confines. For both the world behind the counter was at first a sordid and a smutty place, where women told questionable stories and cooks took liberties. A common distaste drove them together. Later they made dates, went to dances in company. By this time Lucy was an adept in "picking up" the men. She didn't go out with everyone who asked her, however, only with the "nice" ones. She met one boy—he was really twenty-six or seven, though he seemed boyish to her—whom she liked—at first. But soon he bored her. Instead of the small talk to which she was accustomed, he talked of Wells, Shaw, Marx, Ward, even going to the extent of quoting poetry—radical poetry. He told her of problems which only added her pretty head. When he tried to show her that waitresses were underpaid, she took exception.

"You are wrong there," she said. "My friend and I room together. We pay seven dollars a month each for an awful nice room. Laundry comes to another ten; and the clo'es we buy to another twenty. Waiting table is a darn sight easier'n working on a farm, let me tell you. Why, I have nearly a hundred dollars in the bank now. That's more'n I ever had on the farm!"

He tried in vain to make his meaning clear. When it developed that he was an I. W. W. she ceased speaking to him. Down in Kansas, where she came

from, the Wobblies had a terrible name, and only loafers and the worse sort of crooks belonged to them. This she believed. So the lad who might have been her salvation went his way sore-hearted, and if she thought of him at all it was as "that fool who didn't know what he was talking about."

When Lucy's bank balance was exactly one hundred and thirty-five dollars and sixteen cents she had a pain in her side. When she came out of the hospital her bank account was nil and she was three hundred dollars in debt. Marie stood by her, however; but when after two months' absence she approached the boss for her old job, it was filled.

"Sorry, my dear," he said, "but you know how it is. Can fill you in on off days, though. Best I can do."

So Lucy made four dollars working, two days a week, scanning the want-ad columns for better employment, walking miles with weary, dragging feet.

But it was a dull season. Hundreds were out of work. The few positions vacant called for skill she didn't possess, or were given to girls with more experience in that particular kind of work. Without the aid of her girl friend she would have starved. As it was, it taxed both of them to the utmost to get along. Clothes became shabby. There were no more pretty frocks picked up at bargain sales. Lucy felt her dependence on her friend keenly.

"I don't know what I'm going to do," she said to the boss one day.

"A nifty skirt like you oughtn't to have to worry about that," he leered.

The implication sickened her. Yet as the weeks passed she became desperate. Something had to be done. She knew of course that some of the waitresses made money on the side. She had always thought that that was because they were "bad" women. Now the remark of one of them came back to her: "How do you think we get by in the off season if we don't hustle?"

When Glandon stopped his car on the street and said, "Hello, kid, do you want a lift?" she stopped too. Glandon was an oil man, a promoter of sorts, with a big home down the valley a ways, and a whole floor of offices over the Woolworth department store across from the restaurant. He was a man of about fifty odd who affected a fatherly manner to cover the remorseless approach of the confirmed libertine. He took many girls out in his luxurious car. She knew what for. She knew his reputation. But she was tired. Her side hurt her cruelly. Her head ached and she was faint for food. The walk to her room was a long one and she had no carfare. When he urged her into the limousine she did not resist. It was heaven to sit down on a soft-cushioned seat, to be wrapped in a rug. Glandon saw that she trembled. He drew something from his pocket and pressed it to her lips. "It'll do you good," he said. She knew what it was. She knew what the effect would be on an empty stomach, on a head unaccustomed to potent liquors. She knew that he knew too. But she did not care. His arm was about her possessively, holding her close. What did it matter? What did anything matter? She drank.



What Is The Economic Situation?

By COVINGTON AMI

U NDOUBTEDLY the plutocracy, the upper strata of the middle class and a handful of skilled craftsmen holding key positions in the industries are now, and have been for some time, enjoying great prosperity, but it is also true that the direct reverse is true of the great mass of unskilled and semi-skilled workers and the farmers.

During the last four years I have travelled from North Dakota to Louisiana, from Texas to Illinois, to Oklahoma, Missouri, Alabama, Tennessee and Arkansas, crossing and recrossing the territory bordering along the Mississippi River. I have talked to men of all trades and businesses and have been very closely associated with farmers and their organizations, so that I am judging conditions first-hand as well as from reading and observation. Having, therefore, given close study to the situation, I believe I can make a fair general estimate of the economic conditions now prevailing in the United States.

Farmers Steadily Fail

First, the economic position of the farmers has steadily worsened ever since the great "deflation drive" was made on them in 1920-21 by the Federal Reserve System and the Wall Street banks. They are actually and relatively far worse off than they were in 1920. Hundreds of thousands of them have been driven from their farms and into the mass-production industries, while other thousands have been reduced to abject and hopeless tenantry on the farms they and their fellow work-

ers dug out of the wilderness and desert. Thousands were also thrown so deeply into debt that they will never be able to pay out; they are what the Southern farmers so well call "debt tenants," which they declare to be the "worst form of tenantry on earth"—and it is, for it is a form of peonage from which they have no hope of escape this side of a revolution that will overthrow the wage system. That this raid on the remnants of the free-holding farmers was deliberate on the part of the plutocracy, cannot be doubted when one reviews the "deflation campaign" of 1920-21. Its purpose was, first, to teach the rebellious farmers of the Northwest a lesson so that they would "know their real place in society and stick at their "God-appointed tasks" of producing plenty for parasites and getting poverty for theirs; and, second, to drive the younger men off the farms and into the mines, mills and factories in order to produce a large reserve army of unemployed and semi-employed to the end that wages in the industries might be lowered and greater profits accrue to the plutocracy. Also the bosses figured that the greater the number of men and women hunting for work could be made, the weaker the unions

would be and the slower the unorganized worker would be to listen to "radical talk" and begin to organize. With the bankruptcy of the farmers went, of course, the smashing of wages paid agricultural workers, who, already miserably paid in 1920, are today worse off than ever in the history of the country. Hundreds of thousands of these agricultural workers have also been driven off the farms into the industrial centers—there to compete with their former employers and other wage workers for a bare subsistence. That this drive against the agriculturists was deliberately planned, is borne witness to by the whole course of the movement. Speaking in Chicago to a group of business men not long before he died, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace said: "Two hundred years ago England was facing the same dilemma that now faces the United States, and she solved it by sacrificing agriculture to industry and became the leading nation of the world." That was the "remedy" advocated by "Secretary of Agriculture" Wallace—to sacrifice agriculture to industry—"the wisdom of England," he called it—and that policy has been steadily followed by the plutocracy with the able assistance of both the Harding and Coolidge administrations. Wallace's idea seemed to be to turn the whole United States into one vast steel trustized hell, with the notion that "we" could find foreign markets for "our" surplus products, though he did not tell his business men audience how a nation of 110,000,000 people hitched to the most perfect labor-saving (?) machinery ever possessed by any ruling class could find foreign markets that would absorb the surplus profits they intended to rob from the American workers and farmers. Anyway, they went ahead steadily with their "deflation" of the farmers and unskilled workers, with the result that today "our" guns are booming from China to Germany and from Mexico to Morocco in a vain effort to force "our" products into foreign markets. Tomorrow, unless the workers and farmers of this country wake up, organize and stand together, they, the plutocracy and its allies, will be marching millions of toilers to die on distant battlefields in order to "create markets" for "our surplus products." So much for the condition of the farmers and agricultural workers—they have been stripped naked and are headed for peonage like to that of old Mexico and China unless they can organize and deliver battle in their own behalf. Everywhere I have been, in all the states, the great mass of the agriculturists have their backs to the wall, and there is no hope for them within capitalist society. For them capitalism has written over its doors: "All hope abandon, ye who enter here." They have, literally, "nothing but their chains to lose and a world to gain."

As to the industrial workers: save for the handful of highly-skilled craftsmen in the building, printing and railroad industries, the mass of the industrial workers have not only not gained any real advance in wages and living conditions since

1920, but they have actually lost in both respects. Rents everywhere are about 100 per cent above prewar levels and the tendency is for rents and all costs of living to increase and not decrease—this though a great building boom has been going on in all the larger towns as well as in the cities for the past several years.

The Wage Situation

Down in Texas and Louisiana the wages of the lumber workers are back to prewar level with the ten-hour day or longer prevailing practically in all the mills. Two years ago even, the mills in Western Louisiana were paying the miserable wage of \$1.25 a day for a ten-hour day to unskilled labor, which, at the present cost of living, meant that these workers were working below the cost of subsistence—that they were coming out at the end of every month deeper and deeper into debt to the Long-Bells and the rest of the autocrats who have stolen our forests. Abject peonage is again the rule in the Southern timber belt, and all because the workers did not have the guts to stick in the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W. and present a united front to the lumber barons.

Over in Alabama I found white men working in basic industries and getting the enormous wage of \$2 a day for a ten- and twelve-hour day! In Tennessee it was the same. In Birmingham, Alabama and Chattanooga, Tennessee, I found union (?) men, some of the railroaders, who were afraid to let it be known that they were for La Follette for president! This, of course, merely shows to what extent they have been enslaved economically, for had not their economic enslavement been almost complete they would never have admitted to such cowardice. But, then, of all forms of cowardice, economic cowardice, the fear of the boss, the god of the job, is the wildest and worst of all, the most unreasoning—for the workers need not suffer this shame a minute longer than they choose to suffer it—all they have to do is to stand together in one **SOLID UNION of INDUSTRY**, and then it will be the boss's turn to bow to the god of the job—the industrially-organized working class.

The Miners' Position

Coming back onto the track. Everywhere I went I found the coal and other miners fast going the route being travelled by the farmers and agricultural workers—hitting the long, hard trail that leads directly into the hell of peonage. From all I can gather there is practically no union organization left in the metalliferous mines, while the United Mine Workers of America preserve today only a shadow of their former mighty power. In Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and other states that once were strongholds of the U. M. W. of A., the coal miners are fast losing out. On one side of them are the big non-union coalfields of West Virginia, Kentucky and Alabama, and on the other a bunch of either brainless or traitorous union

"leaders" and officials, so that the bosses do what they please to the union, disrupting it first by slow starvation and then by open and brutal war, such as was declared in Herrin and Nova Scotia, and other places. Not only are the miners facing unemployment on a wholesale scale, but they are being headed for peonage with lightning-like rapidity. While their boneheaded officials are twiddling around talking about developing "super-power electric plants at the pits," the bosses are actively organizing **nationally and internationally**, to subjugate not only the American miners but the miners of the world to their unrestrained will. In their drive for the world-wide open shop in the mines, the international bosses have already played the trick of using the German miners against the British, then the French and Belgians against the Germans, then the American against the British and German, and the British against the American. That is to say, when the miners of one country were striking against starvation wages, inhuman living conditions and hellish social surroundings, the coal mined by union miners in another country was used to supply the struck market and thus to break the strike. So far, the British miners are the first and only ones to see this crooked game of the international owners of the mines and to move to end the boss's advantage by uniting all the miners of all the countries into one compact fighting body of organized labor, which is the only way in which the miners can today effectively protect themselves and their class from still further degradation at the hands of the gold-crazed, profit-mad plutocracy. This is the only way, yet to watch the antics and listen to the gabble of the "leaders" of the U. M. W. of A., one would think that the only miners in the world were located in the United States who still pay Lewis and his henchmen taxes for the privilege of working two or three days a week and starving while doing it. It is the great "District system" bearing its logical fruit—the disruption of the miners' union here and throughout the world. All this I get not only from reading but from talks with men fresh from slaving in the mines, union and non-union. During the past five years the economic position of

the America miners of all kinds has, like that of the working farmers and agricultural and lumber workers, steadily worsened—and it will grow worse and worse unless the miners turn and compel their officers either to lead them in a fight to organize the non-union fields and to reorganize the unions, nationally and internationally, or to get out and let men who have the brains and the will to lead take their places. This is today the only hope of the miners of America and the world—**ONE BIG UNION of MINERS**, lined up solidly in **ONE BIG UNION of the INDUSTRIAL and AGRICULTURAL WORKERS of the WORLD**. That is the only hope of the miners, and the sooner they "go to it" the better off they and their class will be. They too "have nothing but their chains to lose, and a world to gain." For them, the miners, there are but two choices today—freedom through and in **One Big Industrial Union**, or American-wide and world-wide peonage in a world-wide open shop.

It is the same with the textile workers.

It is the same with the lumber workers.

It is the same with the boot, shoe and leather workers.

It is the same everywhere I have been, from Dixie to the Dakotas with all that great host who are today contemptuously spoken of as the "unskilled" and "semi-skilled" workers—the economic condition of the mass has steadily worsened during the past five years. Not only are their real wages lower but their standard of living will from now on rapidly fall unless they can organize industrially—unless they can develop the power to take and hold what they produce for themselves and their children, a right they have under all the laws of God and Nature, as you choose.

To themselves alone can the toilers look for any relief from the adverse economic conditions that are now confronting them, and which conditions are pre-destined to grow steadily worse and worse as the days go by unless the workers unite in **ONE BIG INDUSTRIAL UNION** and proclaim **INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY**—equal rights and opportunities to all, and special privileges to none.

"Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing but your chains to lose, and a world to gain!"



Making a Social Revolutionist

By LLOYD EMMONS

WITH shattered ideals and hopes, the wage slave is now wondering, in despair, if the future holds for him any rays of sunshine. In a retrospective mood, he again sees his master's mansion with its spacious lawns, surrounded by the choicest of shrubbery and trees, and in the center of all, a fountain whose dancing sprays are kissed by the sun's bright rays, which are then reflected away in variegated hues to the formation of a miniature rainbow of beauty.

He sees through the dining-room window choice viands; fruits and sparkling wines, bought with his (not the master's) money. He sees servants darting here and there, ever ready to answer to the master's beck or call, or tinkle of the bell.

He sees the master and his family leaving the beautiful home to the care of the servants, and going forth in a high priced, high-powered motor car, to enjoy the beauties of the boulevards, and the cool, refreshing air of the parks and neighboring lakes.

In the master's family are—his own "Lordship," "the Mrs."—"a boy of about twelve" and a little girl of about ten years of age, and two thoroughbred Pekinese dogs.

The most of the "Mrs.'" time is occupied in caring for the Pekinese.

Then he (the slave) recalls his children telling him how the master's children are taken to and from school in a nice coupe. His master's children are also receiving private music lessons.

His (the slave's) children are walking to and from school in patched clothing, with holes in their stockings and shoes. His children are handicapped in their studies by hunger gnawing at their vitals. Sickness is ever ready to pounce upon them because of their undernourishment and insufficient clothing.

He knows that if **Pestilence** in its journey comes near, it will attack his children before it will the well-nourished and well-clothed children of the master. He, too, knows that **Death**—ever lurking near, waiting for an opportunity to claim its prey—will take his children before it will those of the master.

He sees that his children must enter into the "struggle for existence" handicapped physically, mentally and financially.

He muses to himself, "Did I commit a crime by bringing children into this struggle?"

He again thinks of the master's mansion. He is living in a shack.

He again sees the high-powered motor car. He walks.

He again sees the fine silk clothes of the master's wife, and the good clothes of his children.

His wife wears gingham and his children rags. And then he says to himself, "Oh, well! I should

try to be optimistic. I'll use a little Pollyanna Philosophy: It might be worse."

Yes, indeed! And it gets worse!

The next day he is handed an envelope with his check in it, and a note informing him that he is indefinitely suspended from his employment.

He and his family could not LIVE on the wages he did receive, but the master is going to show them how to live on nothing.

In a few days his money is gone. The grocery man is in business for "profits," and can see no profits in trusting a wage worker that is earning NO wages; so credit is denied him.

The rent comes due, and he has nothing to pay it with.

The JOBS are NOT his, so he goes forth to BEG the PRIVILEGE of working.

Mutual Prosperity

He fails. He goes to his former master, and the former master tells him, "Well! There is a depression in business, and you know prosperity to me means prosperity to you; and so when business picks up, maybe I can place you again, but you'll have to accept less wages, for you know living expenses have come down, and I can hire hundreds of men for less than I was paying you."

If the "boss" had told him that LIVING had come down, he would have told the truth.

The slave—the former slave (he lost his master when he lost his job, and was first made a bankrupt, and then pauperized)—returns home.

His wife and children meet him at the door. He does not need to speak—the look of despair in his face tells the story more completely and more accurately than could spoken words.

He downheartedly stumbles across the room, and despairingly drops into an old, wooden rocker. He takes from his pocket the daily paper, which he had paid for with his last three pennies, thinking that perhaps "the latest current events" might rest his troubled mind a little.

In the first column he sees in bold headlines, "**Mr. and Mrs. Rich to Tour Europe.**" (His former master and wife). "Mr. and Mrs. I. M. Rich sail from New York next week to tour Europe. They are to visit Liverpool, London and other places of interest in England. They will then visit Berlin, Vienna and Rome, after which they will spend one month in Switzerland, and then, returning via Paris (where Mrs. Rich intends to add to her already rare collection of art works) will arrive in New York in the early fall."

He could read no further. His mind was in a whirl. He kept repeating over and over—"Prosperity to me means prosperity to you."

He gets his hat and goes from the house, and has not gone far, when he meets his friend Bill.

Wisdom, who at once detects the troubled look in his face.

"Hello, Jack!" says his friend. "What's on your mind?"

"Oh, hell!" Jack replies. "All is dark; wife and kids hungry; no job and can't beg one. I've struggled for years to get by, but have failed, just failed, that's all."

"Listen, Jack," says his friend; "you have nothing in common now with your fellow workers but misery, and the privilege and duty to organize and fight to correct the errors of society and thereby do away with hunger, want, misery, prostitution, crime and a hundred and one other results of the profit system. You have nothing in common with your boss—."

"Hold on," says Jack. "My boss told me that 'prosperity to him meant prosperity to me,' and—"

"Wait a minute, wait a minute," says his friend Bill. "Before the war, The Rich Equipment Co. was declaring 6 per cent dividends. In 1918, they declared 25 per cent and put a few millions into a reserve fund, which they called undivided profits, or interest on accrued investments—or something else that you and I don't quite understand. Did your wages increase five or six hundred per cent? If Mr. Rich's profits increased five or six hundred per cent, and your wages did not, was his prosperity your prosperity? Had you interests in common? Say, Jack—just do a little thinking and studying for yourself, and as you do, say, 'I'm going to STUDY, THINK and ACT for my interests and welfare,' and by doing that, you will be

doing something for your fellow workers—for HUMANITY."

"If you THINK, ACT and WORK for Mr. Rich's welfare, instead of your own, you are simply 'kidding' yourself more than he 'kidded' you when he said, 'My prosperity is your prosperity.' And as you are thinking for yourself, always keep in mind two words—POWER and PROFIT. They are big words in the economic question.

"Under the present system, PROFITS are what we are all after, and the division of those PROFITS is the principal cause of most of our struggles and wars, with the employing class. POWER is the deciding factor in those struggles and wars.

"They (the oligarchy) now have the preponderance of POWER and so give us the small end of the PROFITS and call that small end 'wages'. They take the big end of the PROFITS and call it 'dividends'.

"If they had to call the big share they take WAGES, the same as we do the small end we get, maybe it would set you and some more of the workers to thinking more clearly.

"But say, Jack! Here is a book—"What Is the I. W. W.?" Read it, yes, two or three times, and then get some more I. W. W. books—they are all good. And then read 'Looking Backward' and 'Equality' by Bellamy. Follow these by 'The Iron Heel' by Jack London.

"After you have read these books and done some thinking for YOURSELF, I'll bet my interests in the capitalist system against your interests in The Rich Equipment Co. that you'll be a damn good SOCIAL REVOLUTIONIST. Goodbye, Jack."

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special technical, scientific or academic training in awe. We are no less expert in our functions than they are. We must rely upon ourselves, feeling that, in addition to being capable builders of the present world, we are far in advance of all pledged by environment and training to this rotten system. We have no superiors if our vision is for a classless race working, sharing and playing together in plenitude and harmony, and if we are doing all that we can to carry this vision forward to the members of our class. This outlook makes us culturally superior to the bourgeois-minded. Why should workers feel humble before "professional men" when these latter, as a class, subscribe themselves heartily and brutally to war on fields of battle and wars in the arena of industry? They are the ones to feel ashamed, to be conscious of inferiority. Workers must think for themselves and fight for themselves in order to right this topsy-turvy world, this world of misery for the masses. Industrial unionism makes such thinking and fighting effective.

INDUSTRIAL WASTE.—England recently received the report of a government commission created to inquire into the comparative effects of strikes and unemployment on production. They found that unemployment crises are eight times as destructive to productive capacity as are strikes. Since capitalism has the same general features everywhere, it can be ventured that a very similar result would ensue such an investigation in this country.

Discrediting strikers by accusing them of being anti-social in their stoppage of work can hardly hold its ground after this report. If workers fighting for the means of life by the use of their strike weapon are anti-social, what epithet fits bosses who stop industry's wheels to an extent eight times as great as that of the strikers? If strikers standing together against starvation wages and conditions of peonage are anti-social, what can we term employers who shut factory gates when they can no

longer sell goods at a profit, even though the masses are in dire want of these goods? In this country the courts have acted for employers to outlaw strikes and to declare strikers criminals. American jails have been filled with this new kind of "criminal," and they are well represented in the penitentiaries of the immediate year of light and Our Lord, 1925. But if they are criminals we are criminals, for we hold the same faith and espouse the same kind of action.

Engineers in industrial research have said that the usual management of industry—while operating in "good times"—is far more responsible for losses in production than strikes and lockouts combined. The evidence points very clearly to capitalist inefficiency all along the line. It is sufficient, however, to say that when men, women and children need food, clothing and shelter, and men and women are eager for the chance to apply their labor power to the raw materials and machines to supply their own and the wants of humanity, the dominating class hindering and forbidding this application is criminal, anti-social and just about ready to have the skids put under it.

Organize and sweep capitalism into oblivion!

LAW IN CALIFORNIA.—The **Sacramento Bee** for June 27, points out editorially that state laws of California on adultery are in effect dead letters; that from 1914 to 1924 inclusive there were never more than four persons confined in the state prisons under these statutes. It says: "At San Quentin in three separate years there were no such inmates, and at Folsom none in four of the years above specified. . . . In a total of 2,312 prisoners at San Quentin in 1914-15, not one had been sent there for adultery." The editorial gives the statutory definition of adultery and goes to show that numerous divorces secured on grounds of adultery prove its widespread existence among

married persons. It is common knowledge that adultery in the definition by law is very prevalent.

We have no wish to argue for enforcement of so stupid a brace of laws, but we do wish to employ this chance for comparison of enforcement in that benighted state. The California laws say so-and-so about adultery and constitute it a felony. Admittedly it is flagrantly violated. There are practically no trials and no convictions in this connection. But a very different attitude is demonstrated regarding enforcement of the vicious Criminal Syndicalism Law under whose vile provisions hundreds of I. W. W. members have been arrested and a large percentage of convictions secured. There are seventy-six victims of this law now in San Quentin and Folsom penitentiaries. Why is the Criminal Syndicalism Law enforced, while bootleggers go free and violators of the adultery laws are not apprehended or sentenced?

Well, it is like this: California courts are the property of California industrial kings, and it is natural that members of the I. W. W. attract legalistic hatred because the owners of the industries do not like the I. W. W. They do not like the I. W. W. because they are robbing the workers to the very limit and there is only one weapon that workers can grasp which is an effective one to stop this robbery. The I. W. W. plan of organization on the jobs is this weapon, and it is the one instrument able to destroy exploitation of labor. Of course it is treason to tell the slaves to seize this industrial union weapon. It is high treason. It marks the advocate a literate slave, and since mankind took the bloody trail through the valley of class rule a literate slave has been deemed worthy of death and persecution by each succeeding dominant group.

Industrial unionism means right here and now in this blessed era more of life's good things for workers and less profits for the dear boss. It means better and more food, an improved kind of clothing and sufficient of it, adequate and comfortable shelter for workers who are now largely deprived of these necessities. It means an end of child labor and speeded industries.

It stands for safeguarding the workers' lives and providing for educational and amusement features for them that will constitute definite cultural growth. All this together means greater power to the workers and less to the bosses, and in the day when the former have gained enough organized strength it means the final overthrow of rule by industrial autocracy, and in its place democratic rule by the whole working class in the industries.

There is nothing utopian about industrial organization. Employers unite their economic units in such manner. The time of the individualist among bosses has forever passed. The present is a period of combination, of wealth concentration, or business solidarity. Bosses understand how their power has grown since adopting this broad and provident viewpoint which is expressed so successfully by them through their preying on slaves. It would be a very bad thing for the slaves to adopt the tactics of the master. Very bad indeed. Especially bad when they reflect that the numerical aspects of the case are favorable to the slaves. And not only the numerical but the industrial, as well, for the workers can live without bosses because the workers create all the food, all the clothing, all the shelter of the world and the bosses create nothing but wars and want and waste.

Because employers so persecute those teaching the industrial union idea every worker should be able to see without further argument that the industrial union idea is good for workers and bad for bosses. Masters will always attack with their utmost resources the foremost opposition to their operations. The I. W. W. in California and wherever it exists, constitutes a menace to the exploiters of labor. These exploiters know what threatens them and they desperately strive to prevent growth of industrial unionism among workers. Conscious of this situation, if you are a worker you belong in the I. W. W. We need one another in order to advance our class interests. Get into the union of your class and speed the day when all laws shall be made in the union halls of an emancipated humanity.

THE LOOT

The clouds were clean as new linen in the blue sky
When the fathers and mothers came out of their houses.
Long poles of sunlight slanted to the earth
As the fathers and mothers marched up the street.
The children thought the long poles of sunlight
Upheld God's linen underwear
As they followed their fathers and mothers up the streets,
While soldiers watched. . . .

The children saw rickety wagons and boxes and bags
Come from buildings ripped open by force,
And filled with things to eat and wear.
They heard the mad words on fathers' and mothers' lips:
We must eat. We are cold. Our children suffer.

When night came the children thought:
A bundle of wind will blow God's underwear
All over the blue grass—
And was that Uncle Ned that got shot by the soldier?



Soft and Easy

Lewis of the U. M. W. of A.
Nestles so many green babies
In his vest pocket every night
For being president of the U. M. W. of A.
He sleeps softly. He talks softly
To rebel men and tells them
To take it easy.

Men with steel picks on their shoulders
And empty dinner pails
Listen to Lewis talk softly
Thinking of their women
Blowing a kiss to summer
By an empty coal bin . . .
Thinking of dream-empty babies
With a heart of powder
Leaning against the kitchen corner . . .

These men listen to Lewis
With so many green babies
In his vest pocket
Talk so soft and easy.

Two Poems for
District No. 26
U. M. W. of A.

By LAURA TANNE

RUBBER SLAVERY AT AKRON

(Continued from Page Five)

started. They had circularized the entire American labor movement for funds with which to conduct the campaign, and nearly two thousand dollars was collected from Canada, United States, Cuba, Porto Rico, Panama, Hawaii and the Philippines. As soon as they lost control this money was misappropriated to other uses and everything possible was done to disrupt the union.

"Labor Shortages" and "Law'n Order"

There is considered to be a labor shortage in Akron when the number of unemployed drops below 5000 men and women and steps are immediately taken to remedy the matter. Advertisements are placed in Southern papers to bring men here. When they arrive they are told "Nothing today, sorry; but if you will leave your name and address we will send for you;" or, "Come in again." Thus they keep an army ready if anything should happen, and they keep more than a hundred deputy sheriffs, all klansmen, scattered through the shops so they will know beforehand if anything is going to happen. The presence of these deputies was brought out clearly when the grand jury was investigating the liquor traffic among other deputies who would raid a bootlegger and sell his liquor. The governor ordered the sheriff to discharge his army which numbered several hundred. According to this order they were all dismissed "except slightly more than one hundred who are employed as special police and watchmen in the shops" to use the sheriff's own words. The sheriff and all his deputies are klansmen and these deputies work without pay from the county.

We Must Educate the Rubber Workers

Incidentally, these workers brought here from the South are the greatest obstacle to organization. They come from the rural districts of Louisiana,



RUBBER PLANTATION WORKER LABORING FOR GOODYEAR IN FAR-OFF BRITISH EAST INDIES.

Alabama, Tennessee and other points in the "Pure Americanism" belt where wages are low and they feel deeply indebted to the rubber companies who pay a "living" wage.

Here are thousands of men and women working in an atmosphere heavily laden with the dust from a large and choice variety of chemicals, at a speed that warps and kills and in constant dread of that surveillance and the army at the gates.



"Germany's Artist of the Masses"

This is the title of Agnes Smedley's wonderfully appreciative article of the matchless art of Kathe Kollwitz. We are running in The Industrial Pioneer for September the article and a number of photographic reproductions of the paintings that have no equal in expressing the life and spirit of the proletarian. This is a very unusual offering and we ask all to send in their subscriptions and orders for bundles as early as possible because the issue is sure to be rapidly sold out. This magazine is the world's outstanding journal of revolutionary industrial unionism and by continuing to give its readers the best in working class literature and art it deserves your heartiest support. Let's make the September number take a big jump in circulation! We can do it by acting together.

religious system is based on ignorance of the so-called laws of nature. The founders of these absurd system did not know the nature of the human mind, nor the history of the race, they thought that they, though relatively primitive men, knew all the race would ever know! They based their conclusions on the wholly insufficient knowledge of their times.

We refuse to travel ahead of the actual knowledge we possess, and when we speculate upon anything unknown, we do not assert our conclusions as facts.

Seventh premise. That any state, association or social organization whatever, that rests upon and enfranchises all must be one in which education must be an important factor.

One thing that the reader should bear in mind, is that those who propose an industrial democracy, are proposing it as an industrial-social system in which all who are able to will be producers, between certain ages, and as producers they will be members or citizens; first, in the local unit of industrial endeavor, with such groups autonomous, self-governing, in all matters of local concern; second, a citizen or member of the industrial division or state, likewise autonomous, self-governing in all its domestic affairs. Local industrial units would be limited or circumscribed only in their relations as producers to others of the same industrial division, or the units of other industrial divisions in the locality. Industrial divisions would be limited by the welfare of the whole body of such divisions.

It is sufficient at this place to show that the proposed new social order is to rest upon the producers all equally enfranchised, consequently the need for education.

The object of education, from this standpoint, is primarily to secure the smooth working of the social organization, for upon this depends the carrying on of production, on broad enough a scale to liberate the producers from long and exhausting toil, and provide the leisure and equipment for the development and completion of the individual. Individual freedom from a constant struggle for the needs of existence depends upon social regulation of production. Only by such regulation can the individual secure the means of life, and have the leisure and equipment really to become a complete individual, and reach his fullest capacity, upon which depends the development of a more perfect type of individual.

Education as conducted today is not sufficient. It has in most cases been entrusted, at least that of the working class, to young girls and feeble men, who when not too ignorant to teach the full knowledge of the race to their pupils, are too furtive to do so, because they are dependent on their work for a livelihood, and the control of positions and policies lies in the hands of usually illiterate, always corrupt political machines. The consequence is that a hodge podge of chaff, exploded theory, and unconnected truths are supplied to the pupils, in the school period, when impressions are most vivid

which often obstructs the acquisition of real knowledge later in life. New truth is debarred by previous impressions, is the substance of a summing up of this subject by Ward.

These facts render it necessary to develop a method of separating popular fiction from real knowledge, and presenting information in an intelligently organized manner, and preventing the teaching of well known errors, and the forming of false conclusions.

"In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that opinion should be enlightened." Let us change this statement of Washington to meet the needs of the social order proposed, as follows: "In proportion as the structure of a social organization enfranchises and places power in the units and individuals comprising these units, of the structure, it is essential that all should have access to all of the accumulated knowledge of the race."

(To be continued.)

Tenements

By MARY HOPE

TWO naked children pull a mattress onto a fire escape asking a sleep-god to give them a little wind and sun. Behind the bars of the fire escape tiny blue hands and a cough tell the story of tenement swords slashing to death the sleep-god.

The Polish family upstairs scattering god-damns everywhere while downstairs Rosie and Bennie talk over the day's work. Rosie says: "The boss' wife, she comes in and says, 'Good morning and how are you girls?' like she was climbin' golden stairs on stilts and the foxie woof-woof 'round her neck nearly knocked us coo-coo. And Bennie answers, 'You got a cinch. Come and see me spittin' lead from rubber mixin' for 9 hours and my guts lined with it'"

Evening comes like a dark shame-blush. Their papers lie scattered in the dust. Headlines awry. Coolidge and a west-end murder look at a cat's belly pausing to sniff at them on his way to his faithful love, the garbage.

A shop girl comes home, tired. Black streets snap at her with the tongues of long hungry hounds. She sees a rough fellow staring at her. His overalls are dirty. He says to himself: "If I wasn't always fighting I could marry a girl like that." . . . She hurries on, weary, while the pitter-patter of many footsteps on the pavement says to her, "Don't-you-care, don't-you-care."

The tenement-night clothes itself with that sweet liar, the darkness. And stars and diadems of far-off moons adorn it, like a heavenly smile on the face of a leper. The tenement-night is like a priest in soft clothes and soft words and linen clean as a baby's first tooth. While underneath disease and fat and lies eat him to the core. Tenements.

And They are Still Coming

By T. P. and "X"

THE following is merely an incident taken from the life of the "white gypsies" of California.

The actors of this little drama are just a few straws caught in the sucking whirlwind of California real estate advertising, carried high—in hopes—and none too gently dropped to earth. If it were desirable it is quite possible to recite thousands of such heartrending tales. But one straw is like another. The incidents are all similar, differing only in details.

The average family that comes to California from the East seeking health and fortune in response to the deceptive advertising carried in eastern papers by California real estate brokers and chambers of commerce, leave a home life behind it to become a wandering unit of the ever increasing horde of "white gypsies"—the automobile traveling farm proletariat of California. As often as not these families come from the petit bourgeoisie, had in the past small places of business that provided them a somewhat secure living.

To get a bit of first hand information of this process of what we might call proletarianizing it was decided to make inquiry from some victim in one of the auto camps where the "white gypsies" abound.

After getting several rebuffs, because a great many of these families still retain their bourgeois pride, we finally succeeded in engaging in conversation a matronly appearing woman with a look of utter despair in her fine face. At first it was just a few remarks about the weather and the outlook for the summer's work. It was raining then. Not thinking it advisable to use a notebook the gist of the woman's story is all we can give. We didn't even ask her name—but her address is the open road.

It appears that this particular family had come from some small town in Michigan where they had owned a little store that had furnished them, and the parents of the mother before them, a fairly comfortable living and enough to put away for the proverbial rainy day. But as the little town increased in population during the period of the war, and immediately after other stores started up and competition made inroads into their little savings. It was after the Atlantic & Pacific Coffee and Tea Company had opened its store that they decided to quit and go to California. No use bucking the trust with what little they had, and hard times, too. So it was California bound in response to the advertising lure. There had been a longing through the years for something better. Why not try?

The store was sold at a sacrifice and the Ford, the same dilapidated, rickety old thing we were looking at, was loaded with what earthly belongings were deemed necessary for the long overland trek, and it started. It was the most pleasant experience of her life, this overland auto trip, so she stated, with

its splendid outdoor life. "Of course, we had a little money then and there was no immediate worry—there is now," she thoughtfully added.

To come from Michigan to California in the Ford had not been very expensive. It was not until reaching California that expenses started to pile up. There was so much to see—years of pent up curiosity to satisfy. It cost money and lots of it. California lay before them in the gay beauty of a harlot, her blemishes concealed—her favors to be had for money only.

After a few short months of this their little capital, which had originally been a little over three thousand dollars, had dwindled to a very scant two. In order to save what little was left it was decided to buy a piece of land. But where? Land was so high.

In their travels they had been through the town of Madera and had noticed in passing that land was for sale at \$400 per acre, in 10 acre lots, and terms. So they came back to Madera and "bought" ten acres of unimproved land on "terms."

How little these people knew of California farming! Canals, and main ditches, and laterals, and headgates, and intakes, and water rights, Jackson pumps, and so forth, was like so much Greek to them. That the soil would not produce enough from ten acres to feed a family unless the land was irrigated was not realized at the time the eight hundred precious dollars were paid the glib-tongued real estate shark, and papers were signed to make payments of five hundred dollars each year henceforth until four thousand dollars and interest was paid.

That they had to build a house they realized, of course. It was unimproved land. But that the land had to be leveled and ditches and water gates put in preparatory to irrigating they merely had a vague idea about. Even had this been done before they bought there would still have been the all important question of water for irrigation.

The real estate man had told them that they would have to put down a well temporarily and use a pump until they could get the "gravity" water from the mountains. The dam was surveyed and so forth. Well? What a silly thing to mention. Where they came from everybody had a well and a pump. Of course, they had to have a well and a pump. The real estate man must think they knew nothing. It was not until they later started to inquire about the cost of a well and a pump that they grasped what the real estate man had been none too anxious to tell them—and the great amount of water needed to irrigate ten acres of thirsty California soil. They found out too late that a fully equipped well capable of furnishing enough water to irrigate ten acres would cost about two thousand dollars. It was a staggering blow.

Another thing was the leveling of the land and



THIS IS HOW CHILDREN OF "AUTO TOURISTS" LURED TO CALIFORNIA BY REAL ESTATE SHARKS MUST TOIL IN FIELDS WHEN PARENTS ARE "BROKE"

putting in the ditches and water gates, etc. All in all they discovered that it would take at least three or four thousand dollars merely to get started. Had they had sufficient for this there would still have been the problem of making a living until fruit trees and vines came into bearing—and the mighty problem of making payments, these "easy" payments, at the same time.

They tried to dry farm the first year but merely exhausted their meagre funds in the attempt. When the payment came due they were broke and had to leave the place. They left a house and a well fenced place behind them to be used by the real estate shark as a further inducement and bait for catching the next sucker. Mr. Shark benefitted, from this deal, a neat little house, a good fence, the leveling of ten acres and was paid \$800 besides. Another sucker or two and this particular plot will be worth double.

It was just about two years ago that they had

loaded their earthly belongings into their Ford for the second time and had left Madera. Since then the family had tried to make a living in the fruit. It had been a hand-to-mouth existence. And here they were now owing rent for the use of the camp grounds, and there were cherries to pick if they could just get to where the cherries were. A hasty search of pants pockets brought forth a couple of dollars which were gratefully accepted.

* * * * *

Statisticians tell us that for every success in the business world there are approximately four thousand failures. Among the homeseekers that come to California from the East the percentage of successes is much smaller—about one in seven or eight thousands.

The step from comparative independence to actual acceptance of alms is in California a short one. But they are still coming.

These Twenty Years

(Continued from Page Eighteen)

now appears that in the near future this old struggle, which has obstructed the organization more than all other agencies combined, will be successfully negotiated.

This will mean that a general organization will be obtained which will not only be powerful but to which all subordinate parts will bow on general questions and which will be of great value to all units. It will be the true instrument and expression of the working class as a whole, rather than the tool of a single union or combination of

unions with similar needs. Once this is achieved the road is clear for a tremendous growth, for the working class is already cognizant of the need for a more adequate form of organization. The future social development of man rests with an aggressive, properly adjusted, revolutionary industrial organization, free from all philosophical errors. If these last twenty years place in the hands of the world's workers such an efficient vehicle they will have been well spent.

Industrial Observations

(Continued from Page Twenty)

program of "reliable officials" that are supposed to be developed by the new creed.

This program makes matters worse instead of better. Whatever we have to say about the A. F. of L. officials they generally originated in the crafts of which they became the officials, and understood the work thoroughly. As a result, if they really had a desire to serve their fellow workers in the union they were also more or less qualified to do so. The new type is different. He is the professional official, the "leader type" similar to the professional politician as contrary to the common citizen who had politics merely as a public duty and not as a profession. Unfamiliar with the work as well as the psychology of the workers in the union the result of this new leadership means only added confusion and expensive blunders, resulting in disillusionment and discouragement among the workers.

The main task confronting us is to prove to the workers the failure of all "leadership," that only in their own ability to fight the battle and to direct their progress lies the solution of their present industrial and economic difficulties. We must instill confidence in the workers and endeavor to stimulate the initiative among them, or else it will be nothing but an endless experience with new leadership that will eventually land them in the same old predicament.

We will find among those workers a fairly good understanding as to the aim and object of the I. W. W., and its philosophy is quite well understood also. But what is lacking is a clear and concise conception of the working operation of industrial unionism as propagated by the I. W. W. What we need in those fields are not speakers as much as educators and organizers; men who are willing to go among those workers, to teach them how the I. W. W. is composed of industrial unions with job branches; how those branches operate,

what their jurisdiction is and what duties rest upon the officials, and what power they have. It is a big job and a slow one, but it must be done. With a little patience great results can be obtained.

A very large percentage of the workers are foreigners, and what little they have of organizations that can be characterized as labor unions is mostly among various foreign-language groups. It is estimated that more than 75 per cent of the miners in the East are foreigners. As a rule those foreign workers look toward the English-speaking workers to take the lead in the union and to fill the offices. Whenever they find one who proves to be really sincere and able in his work, any amount of support is offered. What is needed in the East are a couple hundred of the old type intelligent and courageous job delegates we had on the Pacific Coast when we built our industrial unions there. If that type of delegate can be prevailed upon to enter the industrial field of the East, they will be able to accomplish an organization drive the result of which will make the 1917 lumber workers' drive appear to have been small by comparison.

In the Eastern industrial centers we have a field to win for the I. W. W., and win with very little effort. It is less a question of finances than a question of getting members with the necessary qualifications to instruct new delegates how to proceed with the work, to carry on our educational program, not with oratory and large meetings, but through the constant contact with the man on the job; to supply our press with live news directly from the industrial field, thereby making it more valuable to the whole organization; and first and last: instill confidence among the toiling masses; create a revolutionary spirit that not merely expresses itself in lengthy resolutions but in actual deed on the industrial field. The workers in the Eastern industries are waiting for us to come and point the way. Let us not fail them.

HAVE YOU SENT IN YOUR SUBSCRIPTION FOR THE

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER?

DO SO WITHOUT DELAY, AND MAKE YOUR

WORKING CLASS MAGAZINE GROW!

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

The conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

THE ROLL CALL

JULY, 1925

California's Class - War Prisoners

IN SAN QUENTIN PRISON

Name	Number	Name	Number
Pat Casey	35563	Joe Varella	38133
M. J. Dunn	35564	H. M. Edwards	38292
George Ryan	35567	Tom O'Mara	38293
Henry Matlin	35717	Jack Nash	38294
James Olson	35718	Bert Kyler	38307
Frank Sherman	35768	Wm. Rutherford	38308
Omar J. Eaton	36627	C. Pedersen	38360
R. W. Minton	37492	Arthur G. Ross	38361
P. Mellman	37637	A. Bratland	38363
F. Franklin	37635	B. Johanson	38364
James Martin	37636	A. E. Anderson	38376
Frank Bailey	37647	Ivan Barnes	38530
Wm. Joozdeff	37649	Fred Bammon	38531
John Orlando	37650	Roy Carter	38533
C. A. Drew	37654	Roy House	38535
Frank Cox	37701	E. D. McNasser	38536
C. F. McGrath	37702	W. H. Wright	38537
R. Kuilman	37703	Ed Dawe	38578
Joe Vargo	37752	F. W. Thompson	38579
H. Cederholm	38108	H. B. Stewart	38794
J. B. Childs	38109	J. C. Allen	39343
H. R. Hansen	38114	Wm. Bryan	39344
Francis Hart	38115	L. V. French	39345
Pierre Jans	38117	Wm. Longstreth	39346
J. J. Johnson	38118	John McRae	39347
James LaLonde	38122	Alex. Nicholson	39348
Wm. Minton	38124	Henry Powell	39349
John Pugh	38126	R. V. Taylor	39350
George Roeschlau	38128	D. C. Russell	39458
Chas. J. Smith	38131	John Bruns	40054
G. J. Terrill	38132	Jack Beavert	40628
		Tom Connors	40950

IN FOLSOM PRISON

Joe Clohessy	Joe Wagner	P. J. Gordon
Herman Suhr	Leo Stark	John Hiza
James Price	Richard Ford	H. C. Duke
Jas. McLaughlin	Louis Allen	Earl Firey
	C. J. Sullivan	

Letters to San Quentin must carry the prison number of the addressee on the lower left-hand corner of the envelope.

Letters to Folsom must be sent in care of Warden, Represa, California. The return address of the sender is required on all mail going to inmates of either prison.

IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN SECURING THE RELEASE OF THESE INNOCENT MEN, WRITE TO:

LEE TULIN,

BOX 574,

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.